

The Outlook

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THE STORY OF THE WAR: THE ARABIC CASE

The text of Germany's note disavowing the sinking of the Arabic was made public on October 6. It is for Americans the most important event in that week's history of the war. It reiterates the previous assurances given by Germany as to her intentions to abide by international law in her conduct of submarine warfare. Germany reverses her previous declaration that, whether or not the submarine commander who torpedoed the Arabic made a mistake, his Government could not, in any circumstances, accept liability for the consequences of his act. It is this change in Germany's position which contains the greatest promise of a successful negotiation concerning the still unsettled points in the controversy between the two countries. It appears from the present note that Germany has definitely conceded the principle for which the United States was contending. From this hopeful beginning the case of the Lusitania can be approached with high expectation of a successful outcome. Exactly what is Germany's present position can be seen by the text of her Ambassador's note, which we publish in full:

Prompted by the desire to reach a satisfactory agreement with regard to the Arabic incident, my Government has given me the following instructions:

The order issued by his Majesty the Emperor to the commanders of the German submarines of which I notified you on a previous occasion has been made so stringent that the recurrence of incidents similar to the Arabic case is considered out of the question.

According to the report of Commander Schneider of the submarine which sank the Arabic and his affidavit, as well as those of his men, Commander Schneider was convinced that the Arabic intended to ram the submarine.

On the other hand, the Imperial Government does not doubt the good faith of the affidavit of the British officers of the Arabic, according to which the Arabic did not intend to ram the submarine. The attack of the submarine was undertaken against the instructions issued to the

commander. The Imperial Government regrets and disavows this act, and has notified Commander Schneider accordingly.

Under these circumstances, my Government is prepared to pay an indemnity for American lives which, to its deep regret, have been lost on the Arabic. I am authorized to negotiate with you about the amount of this indemnity.

This note is proof that Germany has not desired a break with the United States. It is proof also that Germany, through the representations of Ambassador von Bernstorff, has come to realize that the demands of the United States were not empty threats, but were solidly based upon American public opinion. The (long-delayed) realization of this fact is something for which America can be profoundly glad. There will be little temptation on the part of the general public to inquire whether other methods than those pursued by our Government would have brought the longed-for result at an earlier date.

The difficulty between Germany and the United States over the particular issue of the Arabic has also been appreciably mitigated by information contained in the informal report of an investigation into the sinking of the liner Hesperian off the Irish coast on September 4. Pieces of the instrument of destruction which wrecked the Hesperian were found upon her decks and forwarded by the English Government to America. On good authority, it is now stated that our naval officers who have examined these pieces of metal say that they are part of a mine. Their official findings will be submitted to the Navy Department in the near future.

THE WAR ON THE WESTERN AND EASTERN FRONTS

Last week the attention of the world was centered upon the great Anglo-French drive against the German lines west and south of Verdun and north of Arras. This week the political situation in the Balkans has distracted a large share of this public attention; but the always troublous situation in the Balkan countries cannot wholly obscure the

tremendous results achieved by the armies of England and of France. To realize what they accomplished it is necessary to remember the conditions against which they were contending. An advance through the German lines can be made only after an artillery attack so furious that it practically blasts the defenders off the face of the earth. The wire entanglements must be swept away by shell fire, trenches made untenable by high explosive shells and shrapnel, and the artillery of the enemy overpowered by superior fire. For the French to gain under such conditions a strip of hostile territory fifteen miles in length and from one to two miles in width was a herculean task. The gains of the British to the north were smaller in area, but of considerable strategic value. According to General French's official report of the operations near Loos (really a suburb of Lille), the enemy's first and most powerful line of intrenchments, extending for a distance of four miles, was carried by his troops on the first morning of the attack. This position was exceptionally well fortified. Later in the battle, after the bringing up of reserves, a second line was forced and a strong defensive position established and consolidated in close proximity to the German third line. Upon the counter-attack from the German forces a part of these gains was lost, but the British troops appear to have retained a valuable advantage.

The advance made by the allied forces is an augury of what can be accomplished in the future as well as a great achievement in itself. Those who expected any extended and immediate retirement of the German line in France as a result of the Anglo-French operations were, of course, doomed to disappointment. Such a drive as was made by the Allies entails an amount of preparation in the matter of supplies and information which can hardly be overestimated. The range of each hostile fortification must be determined, and the position of the enemy's reserves. The object of such a drive is not to force back the entire line of the enemy, but to cut through at such points where the attack will endanger, if not sever, the hostile line of communications. An engineer who wants to overthrow a bridge does not have to destroy the whole structure. A blast placed at the proper point will send it tumbling down more quickly than a hundred times the same amount of explosive improperly located. While the French and English failed to destroy the bridge-

like structure of the German line in France, they came close to demonstrating their ability to force a retirement at some future date.

The interrelation between the different campaigns was well shown at the time of this allied offensive in the west. The extraordinary effort made by Germany to resist the attack and to regain the positions lost was coincident with a slackening of the German offensive in the east. The Russian armies at the time at which this is written are apparently either holding their own or in some places advancing. Russia can thank her allies for a similar debt to that which they incurred at the time of the Battle of the Marne.

THE WAR AND THE BALKANS

It is in the Balkans at present that the greatest news interest centers. It is from the Balkans, too, that confirmation comes for the belief that fundamentally this war is a war between autocracy and democracy. Greece and Bulgaria, both countries in which the populace is fundamentally in sympathy with the cause of the Allies, are headed by dynasties favorable to the cause of the central Powers. The Bulgarian King has shown every sign of desiring to throw his country into the balance in favor of Germany and Austria.

Mobilization was ordered by Bulgaria. Serbia, threatened by an Austro-German drive from the northeast and a Bulgarian attack from the southeast, was given the support of a Russian ultimatum delivered to the Bulgarian Government, which that Government rejected. The text of this ultimatum is reported in part as follows:

The presence of German and Austrian officers at the Ministry of War and on the staff of the army, the concentration of troops in the zone bordering Serbia, and the extensive financial support accepted from our enemies by the Sofia Cabinet no longer leave any doubt as to the object of the military preparations of Bulgaria.

The Powers of the Entente . . . have, on many occasions, warned M. Radoslavoff [the Bulgarian Premier] that any hostile act against Serbia would be considered as directed against themselves.

The Russian Minister, therefore, has received orders to leave Bulgaria with all the staffs of the Legation and consulates if the Bulgarian Government does not within twenty-four hours

break with the enemies of the Slav cause and of Russia.

The Bulgarian threat against Servia (followed by an ultimatum) has resulted further in an upheaval in the internal affairs of Greece. The Cabinet resigned and the King accepted its resignation. It will be recalled that Venizelos, the Greek Premier, dismissed last spring by King Constantine because of his pro-Allies sentiments, was recently returned to power by an overwhelming popular election. Thereupon he was again reinstated by the King as Premier. The present break between King Constantine, brother-in-law of Kaiser William, and his Minister directly followed a disagreement over the landing of Allied troops on Greek soil for the support of the threatened Servians. The landing of these troops at Salonika was made against the formal protest of the Venizelos Government, but apparently without the desire on the part of the Prime Minister that his protest would be heeded. The Greek Constitution does not permit the landing of foreign troops upon Greek soil without special legislation. The Premier has justified his position toward the landing of foreign troops by the terms of a treaty in existence between Greece and Servia. On the outcome of the sharp contest between Venizelos and his King hang events of far-reaching importance to the warring nations.

ENGLAND IN THE LAND OF TIGLATH-PILESER AND THE "ARABIAN NIGHTS"

The great battlefields in France and Russia and the diplomatic warfare for the control of the Balkans have overshadowed a contest that profoundly affects a region of great historic importance—a region which in time is destined again to support a civilization worthy of its resources and its fertility and more than worthy of its political tradition.

The British campaign in Mesopotamia represents the consolidation of a colonial policy in that part of the world that has been developing for the past two decades. Once Germany still hoped to obtain Kuwait (at the head of the Persian Gulf, and a magnificent harbor) as a terminus for her Bagdad Railway, but Great Britain forestalled her, and by treaty with Sheik Mobarek of Kuwait checkmated Germany and left her without an adequate port for her railway.

For many years past Great Britain has had

treaties with all the Arab chiefs on both sides of the Persian Gulf. The commerce of the Gulf was nearly all in British hands. The Indian rupee had ousted or had displaced Turkish coinage, and the only post-offices in the Persian Gulf were under the British Indian administration. Piracy had been checked as well as slavery, and Great Britain had policed the gulf to the satisfaction of all concerned. Lighthouses were being erected, and the entire coast had been charted and commerce made possible. Then came the war. The Battle of Busra, last November, decided the destinies of Mesopotamia. A few weeks ago the cable brought news of a second battle of Nasarujah, in which the Turkish forces were driven back toward Bagdad; and, unless all signs fail, the expedition, consisting of Indian troops under British officers, will shortly reach Bagdad, and after that city falls into the hands of the British the whole Mesopotamian Valley will be freed from the dominion of the Turks.

The Viceroy of India, Lord Hardinge, has recently paid a visit to Kuwait, decorated the ruling chief, and secured the good will of the Arab tribes. He has also visited Busra. In both places the American missionaries received grateful acknowledgment for their ministry to the wounded during the war, and he made them a donation in recognition of their services.

The streets of Busra were cleaned, for the first time in the memory of man, as effectively and as promptly as were the streets of Vera Cruz during the recent American occupation. A newspaper has been started, called the Busra "Times," in English and Arabic, and the American missionaries are so confident of the future that Dr. S. M. Zwemer has come home to raise a special fund of \$25,000 for the development of the American Arabian Mission during this crisis. He has practically raised this sum among the Dutch Reformed churches of this country. Dr. Zwemer, to whom we are indebted for most of the information here given, has an expert knowledge of Turkish, Persian, and Egyptian affairs. He is a representative of the Dutch Reformed Church in America, but has been temporarily loaned by that Church to the educational work of the United Presbyterian Mission in Cairo. He is editor of the "Moslem World," a quarterly review of Oriental matters published in London.

The economic future of the Euphrates Valley can be estimated by the fact that here flour-



THE SEAT OF AN ANCIENT EMPIRE WHICH MAY BE PROFOUNDLY AFFECTED BY THE GREAT WAR

ished in the days of Nineveh and Babylon a population which has been estimated by Rawlinson at forty millions. The population of the region is now a little less than two millions under modern Turkish misrule. The loss can be attributed chiefly to tribal warfare, to the disappearance of the vast irrigation works of antiquity, and the lack of all enterprise on the part of the Government.

Those familiar with the development of Egypt under British rule believe that Mesopotamia may under some future Lord Cromer be equal to at least one, if not two, Egypts in fertility, commerce, and the economic and political happiness of the people. When Sir William Willcocks, the great engineer of the Assuan Dam on the Nile, or his successor, completes work on the Euphrates and the Tigris, the same great agricultural transfor-

mation which has come to Egypt may be looked forward to in Mesopotamia.

One of the great oil deposits of the world is found in this valley, at Mohammerah, and is already being exploited for the supply of the British navy, by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company under British direction.

ARMENIA

There is little to be added to what we have said in recent issues about the Armenian situation. The allegations concerning the tortures, massacres, and sufferings of the Armenian people have not only not been satisfactorily denied, but they have been indubitably confirmed. The United States Government has taken cognizance of them and has sent a formal notification to the Turkish Government that a continuance of the

outrages will seriously endanger the friendly relations of the two nations. This is, in diplomatic language, an official protest.

The short story translated from the Armenian and printed elsewhere in this issue will give a more accurate and vivid impression of the conditions prevailing in Armenia to-day than a column of news despatches. Committees are now being formed in this country to raise funds for the relief of the suffering Armenians. The New York committee is composed of men of distinction and responsibility. Donations should be sent to Charles R. Crane, Treasurer, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

MEXICO

We publish this week the second of Mr. Edward I. Bell's three articles on the Mexican problem. Last week he reviewed the career and interpreted the character of General Venustiano Carranza. He made it very clear, it seems to us, that Carranza is a man wholly unfit for the task of re-establishing justice, freedom, and stability in Mexico. In his second article Mr. Bell states facts and draws conclusions that indicate the hopelessness of expecting Mexico to regenerate herself without aid from the outside. Yucatan is one of the most prosperous of Mexican States, owing to its valuable production of sisal hemp. A glance at a map will show that this State lies on the peninsula which juts out into the Gulf of Mexico. The fact that it is at one extremity of the Republic has removed it from much of the revolutionary turmoil and disorder that have disrupted Mexico. Last week Mr. Bell told the story of the compulsion which Carranza brought to bear on the hemp producers of Yucatan. As we go to press, Mr. Bell writes us as follows: "Efforts are being made by Carranza supporters in Washington to impress the public with the idea that Yucatan is enjoying a condition of peace and plenty under the administration of Carranza's Governor, Salvador Alvarado. The peace is sustained by seven thousand Carranza troops in a State always law-abiding, and the plenty is plenty of Carranza's fiat currency, which is being turned in for henequen or sisal hemp at the rate of ten million pesos a month. This currency is so depreciated that it takes seventeen Carranza dollars to buy one American dollar. The educational arrangements which the new Governor is exploiting are sustained with this depreciated currency, which

has inflated Yucatan values to unheard-of heights. Eggs, for example, are fifty cents each."

The sisal hemp of Yucatan is essential to the binding twine industry of the United States, and therefore to the harvesting of our wheat crop. Carranza appears to believe that if he can control the production of this sisal hemp he can command special consideration from the United States, but his course in Yucatan so far certainly does not justify confidence in the stability of his financial, military, or economic policies.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE ELECTIONS

The woman suffrage movement in the United States had its origin fifty years ago on the Eastern seaboard, but it is the Western States which have put the theory into practice, as the following summary will indicate:

STATES THAT HAVE COMPLETE WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Washington, Oregon, Nevada, California, Arizona, Utah, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, Kansas.

STATES THAT HAVE PARTIAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE

New Mexico, Oklahoma, Nebraska, South Dakota, North Dakota, Minnesota, Iowa, Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, Ohio, Kentucky, New York, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Louisiana, Mississippi.

STATES WHICH HAVE NO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, Indiana, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, Maine, Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Delaware.

Such a list as the above indicates the general progress of the movement from West to East in this country, although not with mathematical accuracy, for some of the Eastern States had partial suffrage before any of the Western States had complete suffrage. Political contest on this very live and important question has been carried by the pro-suffragists this autumn to the Atlantic seaboard, for a Constitutional amendment providing for woman suffrage will be submitted to the approval of the male voters during the next three weeks in Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. In New Jersey the voters will cast their ballots at a special election on October 19. In the other three States mentioned the question will be decided on Election Day, November 2,

in the usual manner followed for approving constitutional amendments. The contest in these four States is considered by both the opponents and supporters of woman suffrage as being of extreme importance. There is little likelihood of all four States voting for suffrage. A defeat in all four States will be a serious rebuff to the suffragists. On the other hand, it must be admitted that if they should carry any one of the States they would make an effective breach in the chain of Atlantic States which has so far been impregnable.

FIFTY YEARS AFTER

Fifty years from the day on which the men who had fought in the Union armies marched in procession through the streets of Washington, and were reviewed by President Johnson, veterans, variously estimated at from ten to twenty thousand, marched through the same streets and were reviewed by President Wilson. Fifty years ago they were a great host of young men or men in their prime; two weeks ago they were a procession of old men. That there should have been so many thousands of them gathered a half-century after their retirement from service was a striking reminder that the Civil War was fought for the most part by very young men. They came back from the South full of high spirits, rejoicing that their work was done and the years of hardship and war were over. Two weeks ago they were old and many of them were infirm; but the spirit of youth seemed to pervade the procession; old stories and new jests passed back and forth from line to line as the procession passed the very point where President Johnson stood half a century ago.

The men were gray-haired or white-haired, and the solemnity of age as well as the pride of achievement was on their faces. Those who watched them beside the President and on the sidewalks of the streets through which the veterans passed were more deeply affected than were the veterans themselves. It was impossible to look at their thinned ranks and worn faces and remember what they had passed through without a thrill of pride and a sense also of the inevitable although beneficent pathos of old age. The step was slow, the marching irregular. The bands played old-fashioned marching tunes, and "Marching Through Georgia," "The Star-Spangled Banner," and "Maryland, My Maryland" were cadenced to the slower

tread of the veterans in the procession. But their faces were bright, their battle-torn flags had perhaps a deeper significance than they have had at any time since the war. Some of the veterans were on crutches and were greeted by thunders of cheers as they passed. In some cases wives, daughters, and granddaughters marched arm in arm with the old soldiers. The latter were guarded in every possible way; and assistance was always ready for those who were unequal to the strain of the occasion. "Old Abe," who went through the war with the Wisconsin Eighth Infantry, and is now a stuffed eagle, was brought from his home in the State Capitol at Madison and carried in the ranks. From the Prohibition States the men carried little canteens; the Vermont men wore sprigs of fir; the Kansas men, sunflowers; men from South Dakota carried big ears of corn on their canes; many men carried palm leaves, and some stalks of sugar-cane. Mr. George Burlingame, of Cleveland, wore the same army hat, blue blouse, canteen, and knapsack that he had carried in the procession fifty years ago.

Two years hence there will be another procession in Washington, and the Grand Army men will celebrate that occasion—perhaps the last general parade that will be held—by inviting the Confederate veterans to march with them. In the history of the country nothing has happened that will be more historically significant and morally impressive than that parade. The reunion at Gettysburg was a prelude to that full triumph of reunion and peace.

THE PROCESSION OF SPORTS

Just as surely as the raspberry season follows the period dedicated to the strawberry, just as surely as the apple follows the peach, even more surely we can say, in this time of hot-houses and transcontinental railways, does the procession of sports each in its season divide and enliven the passing of the year.

As the interest of the youngest generation passes from marbles to tops, the interest of the still young generation (which includes all the rest of American mankind) passes from baseball to football. The victory of the Boston Red Sox in the American League and of the long down-trodden Philadelphia team in the National League has been mathematically assured. The Federal League in

chilly fashion has been denied the privilege of participating in any of the championships of the two older organizations; and the end of the baseball season waits but the world's championship between the two most fortunate cities in the baseball world. Perhaps it is somewhat invidious to say that the end of the baseball season waits but the world's championship, for a true baseball fan would regard such a statement as equivalent to saying that the conclusion of Shakespeare's great tragedy waited only the first entrance of Hamlet. At any rate, the intellectual superiority of Boston and Philadelphia will very shortly be thrown into the lists of chance and skill, and on the outcome hangs the fate of the universe, not to mention some very essential gate receipts.

Of the sport which follows baseball in popular interest it can only be said that the season is still very much in the making. The quality of material available for the three great Eastern rivals, Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, is still very much a matter of hazard. At the head of Harvard's football machine there is the redoubtable Haughton. Although Harvard has lost much veteran material, including Charles Brickley (a whole team in himself), still the prospects of another successful season are by no means dark.

Yale, with the memory of a 36 to 0 score in last year's Harvard game, is in the second year of her attempt to rebuild a coaching system that will have the qualities of permanence. In the second game of the season Yale suffered a defeat at the hands of the University of Virginia, a defeat which in the days of the old game would have been portentously ominous. With the new game, the "Big Team" which goes through its season without a defeat is fortunate indeed. Very much the same problem which confronts Yale also confronts Princeton. Defeated last year by both Harvard and Yale, and with a new coaching system to digest, she has a difficult problem to face.

This year's football season is marked also by the revival of the game at the University of Columbia, where it has been for several years under the ban. Columbia before the close of the academic year expects to have recorded a student registration of nearly eighteen thousand. Of course but a very small proportion of this number is available for undergraduate athletics. The freshman class entering this year numbered over one thousand, a fact which might lead one to

expect that within a few years Columbia may win for herself a position in the athletic world to which, by numbers at least, she seems entitled.

MR. ROCKEFELLER IN COLORADO

The first concrete result of the visit of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to the mining camps of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company is to be found in his plan for the improvement of working conditions in the mines under his influence or control. The plan proposed by Mr. Rockefeller will be finally placed before the miners for a referendum vote as to its adoption.

In addressing the delegates before whom the plan was first unfolded, Mr. Rockefeller said, in part: "There are four parts to every corporation. The first are the stockholders, second are the directors, the third part are the officers, and last, but by no means least, come the employees. All four parts of the corporation have common interests. None can be sacrificed to the others. When any of the four considers its selfish interest alone, disaster must follow. It must give a square deal to every man in each of its four parts. Equal responsibility rests on all the men, no matter what their work. The officers feel that the men under them are their friends and partners."

For the settlement of disputes and the discussion of any problems in the relation of the company to its employees the Rockefeller plan provides for district conferences, attended by the grievance representatives of the men and by no more than an equal number of company officers.

The delegates representing the miners and the company eligible to sit in each district conference are to select from their number joint committees composed of six members each, as follows: on industrial co-operation and conciliation, on safety and accidents, on sanitation, health, and housing, and on recreation and education.

The plan makes elaborate provision for the settlement of industrial disputes. It pledges the corporation and its employees to observe Federal and State mining laws. To quote directly from the official manifesto:

"There shall be no discrimination by the company or by any of its employees on account of membership or non-membership in any society, fraternity, or union.

"The right to hire and discharge, the

management of the properties, and the direction of the working forces shall be vested exclusively in the company, and, as expressly restricted, this right shall not be abridged by anything contained therein."

The plan provides, moreover, that the company must post a list of offenses for which dismissal may be made without notice; for all other offenses employees shall not be discharged without notification that a repetition will cause dismissal. The company reserves the privilege of relieving employees from duty on account of lack of work.

Employees are guaranteed the right to hold meetings, to purchase supplies where they please, and to employ check weighmen.

The Rockefeller plan does not provide for the recognition of the United Mine Workers of America. It does provide for a partial system of co-operation between mine owners and mine workers in the settlement of labor difficulties and problems. It provides further for a public guarantee from the company concerning certain obvious rights which the miners have been supposed to possess under the laws of the State of Colorado.

It is too early to make a final statement as to the workability of the proposed plan. The miners who have contended for the right to collective bargaining of the employed class against the employers will hardly be satisfied with the substitute offered by Mr. Rockefeller. The more modern type of employing corporation, such as the Steel Trust, which definitely recognizes the advisability of having its employees participate directly in the profits of the concern, will consider that Mr. Rockefeller's statement concerning the common interest of the four parts of his corporation, so far as the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company is concerned, has a livelier justification in theory than in actual fact. At this time, however, it can be said that Mr. Rockefeller's plan does represent an actual advance toward the operation of his company according to democratic principles. An accurate estimate of the size of this advance cannot now be made.

THE LONGEST STEEL ARCH IN THE WORLD

A long time ago the men who were managing the Pennsylvania and New Haven railway systems saw the necessity of having a connection between those systems that would make it possible for trains to move from north to south by way of Greater New

York City without the necessity of ferriage. Some two years ago work was actually planned and begun at that narrow part of the channel between Long Island and New York known as Hell Gate, which lies just above Blackwell's Island. As will readily be surmised, however, even between Astoria (on Long Island) and Ward's Island (at the mouth of the Harlem River) the channel necessitates a very wide span—one thousand and seventeen feet—between the towers, whose foundations are over a hundred feet below the water-line. The towers are reached by bridged approaches resting on a long line of concrete piers—worthy of some Roman aqueduct—from Long Island City, on the one hand, and from Port Morris across the Harlem to Ward's Island, on the other.

Mr. Gustav Lindenthal, the engineer in charge, has now had the satisfaction of completing the immense single arch of nineteen thousand tons of steel. It forms a chief feature in the landscape as one passes up or down in the Sound steamers. The two arms—each five hundred and eight feet six inches long—of the massive structure, which for months have been growing towards each other, have been brought together. They met, with but a slight fraction of an inch leeway, on the lines marked out by the engineers. These arms were sustained by backstays strong enough to hold them in position until they met over the middle of the river. Now that the bridge is in place, the backstays will be removed.

The bridge, of which an illustration appears on another page, includes not only the longest steel arch in the world; it has also been designed to carry a heavier load than any other bridge can carry.

The event is of interest in both the scientific world and in the world of transportation. The bridge adds one more of the spannings of waterways which in times past no one dreamed of spanning. As to transportation, the railway companies will shortly be able to send their trains from North to South with far less inconvenience than has been the case hitherto, and the commercial advantage to the railways involved is, of course, perfectly patent.

THE WIRELESS TELEPHONE

With startling suddenness came the news that the naval wireless station at Arlington, Virginia, had established wireless telephonic

communication with the Hawaiian Islands. Two years ago Marconi prophesied that within no great length of time telephonic wireless across the Atlantic would be achieved. The general public has known, too, that successful experiments with wireless telephony had been made over short distances by more than one investigator. The sudden change from general prophecy and limited accomplishment to so startling an achievement as transmitting the human voice across four thousand six hundred miles of land and sea without wires was an undreamed-of surprise. The development of other inventions comparable with wireless telephony has apparently been more leisurely in process. The automobiles which entered the first road contest held in this country near Chicago were recognizable ancestors of the eight and twelve cylinder cars that are being put on the market to-day. Each step that has been made in this advance has been a matter for public comment and public interest. The logical result of the invention of the commercial telephone by Alexander Graham Bell is found in the transcontinental system which exists in this country to-day, but the span of this development covered almost the whole lifetime of a man—a prodigious unit of measurement in our modern world. The conquest of the air by the aeroplane has been won rapidly indeed, but it has been made by building upon a definite and visibly growing foundation of achievement.

Of course, very much the same process has been followed in the discovery and application of the principles of wireless telephony. It is the startling suddenness with which the announcement came of the ability to say "Hello, Central!" over more than four thousand miles of space which takes away the layman's breath.

The successful experiment was made by the engineers of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company and the Western Electric Company and the United States navy. Last spring engineers of the two companies succeeded in establishing communication between Montauk Point, Long Island, and Wilmington, Delaware. Later communication was also established between Montauk Point, Long Island, and St. Simon's Island, Georgia, a distance of one thousand miles. It was after this experiment that the co-operation of the Navy Department was secured.

Mr. Theodore N. Vail, President of the American Telephone and Telegraph Com-

pany, says, in an interview with the New York "Times:"

So far as the perfection of the wireless telephone goes, there has been no new basic invention, merely a perfection of the sending and receiving instruments. . . . In the wireless telephone nothing, more or less, has been done than to send messages as they are sent over telephone wires without the wires. By a powerful current, the most important factor, the vibrations at the sending station are greatly magnified. The electric telephone message that left Arlington was strong enough to run an engine; when it was received, it was probably so weak that it could be recorded only by the sensitive receiving instrument, which magnified the sound waves precipitated through the ether so that they could make a record at Hawaii.

This is Mr. Vail's estimate of what has been accomplished. The imaginative appeal that exists in this extension of the field of wireless telephony is something which cannot be measured by any concrete statement.

THE PIG ASSUMES AN EDUCATIVE ROLE

The value of the pig as an educator was first demonstrated in Louisiana in 1910, where the first Boys' and Girls' Pig Club began its beneficent mission with fifty-nine youngsters in its roll of membership.

When the first year of this Pig Club in Caddo Parish, Louisiana, came to an end, it was found that it had provided a means for education of great value. Expert teaching had been given, but preaching without practice had failed to reach the older farmers. It was as a result of this first club that a farmer of the conservative type was led into a competition with one Orange McGee, of Goldonna, Louisiana—old ways against new ways. It was stipulated that the result of the pig contest would be shown at the State fair.

The two men selected litter mates eight weeks old when the trial began. When it ended, young McGee's pig weighed 520 pounds, and his rival's 65; the expenses were respectively \$15.54 and \$5, and one sold for \$58 and the other for \$8. McGee's pig will, it is hoped, prove the death warrant of every picturesque "razor-back" in the South.

But the scientifically raised pig is destined not only to work for cheaper pork, but for better farming as well.

The Department of Agriculture, through its Bureau of Animal Husbandry, in 1912 decided that the pig was just the medium of instruction needed to teach the cotton-raisers

as to the value of "diversification." In co-operation with the State Agricultural College, the pig clubs of Louisiana were given expert supervision, and the interest grew mightily. The next year the same line of teaching was established in Alabama, Texas, South Carolina, Georgia, and other States of the South; last year it was extended into other States—Indiana, Iowa, Nebraska, North Carolina, and Kentucky. The Government is hoping to have an expert supervisor in every State in the Republic; those interested in helping this work should write their State colleges of agriculture. The work will be pushed as fast as funds and men can be supplied.

The last reported enrollment of these clubs in Louisiana was above twenty-five hundred, in Alabama over two thousand, and in Georgia above a thousand.

CUTTING AWAY MILLIONS FROM GEORGIA'S MEAT BILL

Mr. James E. Downing, the Department of Agriculture's representative in Georgia, is colloquially and affectionately known all over the State as "Pig Club" Downing.

Mr. Downing is predicting in all his addresses in the State that he will cut Georgia's annual tribute of forty million dollars to the meat packers in half within three or four years. His first move in this direction this year has been an innovation in pig club practice—a uniting of the Corn Club boy's acre of corn with the Pig Club boy's pig, intending that both shall be the same boy. The four-legged pig, he thinks, is a good medium to market the corn.

The supervision of these clubs by the United States Government is very carefully conducted. Raising the largest pig does not mean a great deal unless there has been evidence of an intelligent economy in production. Then there must be a soundness in keeping a daily record, and allowing the pig to be as neat and wholesome in his appearance as he always will be if he is given a chance. To conserve all these points the following marking system has been adopted:

- | | |
|--|----|
| (a) The best hog with respect to the purpose to be attained..... | 40 |
| (b) The greatest daily gain in weight.... | 15 |
| (c) Cheapest cost of production..... | 25 |
| (d) Best kept record of the care and feeding of hog..... | 10 |

For a perfect score..... 100

Mr. Downing is preaching the economy point everywhere he goes, and expects every

one to keep down the cost of production to between four and three cents a pound.

A NEW AND BETTER WHEATLAND

The date August 3 marked the second anniversary of the hop-fields riot at Wheatland, California. Our readers will recall an article in the issue of The Outlook for May 16, 1914, which gave an analysis of the economic and social causes that led to the fatal riot. The California State Commission of Immigration and Housing subsequently issued a public report, after careful investigation, in which it was declared that one of the prime factors in the riot was the rebellion of the hop-pickers against the unsanitary and deplorable living conditions in the hop-fields. This Commission also found that the conditions in the hop-fields were only a fair sample of conditions existing in California labor camps, and in 1914 it decided to "clean up" all the camps, and thus eliminate this aggravating circumstance in industrial warfare. It is interesting to note the reports of the new conditions prevailing at Wheatland this season; the success of the authorities in generally improving labor camp conditions is encouraging.

The campaign for better living conditions for the migratory workers was conducted in a very businesslike and practical way. An experiment in model camp making was carried out in a State highway camp, and, using this practical test as a basis, rules for labor camp sanitation and housing were published in a pamphlet. This pamphlet was prepared in co-operation with several experts in sanitation. It included photographs and twenty-six detailed drawings of sanitary bunk houses, dining quarters, kitchens, toilets, shower baths, garbage incinerators, and manure composting pits. In connection with each drawing full but simple explanations with regard to construction were given, together with bills of materials and estimates of cost. Armed with this pamphlet, several trained inspectors of the Commission of Immigration and Housing have been visiting the labor camps of California during the past year, not condemning but offering practical assistance in making improvements. Reports on each camp were sent into the office, and individual letters of instruction to the camp operators were sent out by the Commission's sanitary engineer. Up to August 20, 999 labor camps had been inspected and

reported upon. These camps housed 69,097 persons.

THE EVILS AND THE REMEDY

The statistics gathered in the first 876 camps have been tabulated, and significant facts of both technical and human interest are disclosed. Of the total population of these camps 50.7 per cent were immigrant aliens, representing forty different nationalities, while only 49.3 per cent were citizens, either American-born or naturalized. There were 2,659 women and 1,553 children scattered through these 876 camps. Of the 30,020 laborers concerning whom data as to skill was obtainable, 22,560 were unskilled, roving, casual workers whose standards of living should be raised, not only for their own benefit, but as a protection to society generally.

The reports on details of living conditions show the general disregard of sanitation in labor camps. In 353 of the 876 camps there were *no* bathing facilities; in 143 camps there was not even an adequate supply of water for washing either face and hands or clothing; in 114 camps there were *no* toilets of any kind; in 364 camps the toilets were filthy and dilapidated; in 246 of the 496 camps where horses were stabled the stables were unclean and manure was collected in large, open piles; in 220 camps no garbage containers were used and refuse was scattered over the ground; and in 305 camps there were no screens in the dining quarters or kitchens to guard against the ever-present, disease-carrying flies. However, reinspections of 228 scattered camps disclose that in 176 camps conditions have been improved, and that 165 camps have been brought up in every detail to the minimum standard of sanitation set by the Commission—and all this has been accomplished without compulsion or recourse to courts of law.

Moreover, the maintenance of a model labor camp on the Durst hop ranch at Wheatland during the past and present hop-picking seasons has furnished a dramatic demonstration of the value of decent, sanitary labor camps. The owners of this ranch, where the fatal riot occurred in 1913, have co-operated with the Immigration and Housing Commission in installing model camps along military lines to accommodate some fifteen hundred persons. In place of the deplorable living conditions which incited a crowd to riot two seasons past, the pickers now working on

this ranch live in attractive quarters in the midst of orderly cleanliness. Shade trees line the streets of the tent city; at either end of the camp is a row of screened sanitary latrines; a short distance away are two large shower-bath houses; and three men are detailed to the work of keeping the camp clean and orderly. In 1914, and to a lesser extent during the present season, definite but unsuccessful efforts were made by agitators to boycott the Durst ranch. There has been little or no difficulty in securing hop-pickers, and attempts to instigate trouble or revolt among the working force have met with no response. Thus, one of the causes of industrial unrest and warfare has been practically eliminated in California.

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

It is gratifying that during the past few years our museums of art have been trying to co-operate with schools, art students, and the general public to a greater appreciation of the treasures at hand in our various municipalities. This effort is now accentuated by recent announcements by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City.

It calls attention to the fact that its library of 29,000 books is conducted solely as a reference library and is open to all. Then there is the large collection of photographs. Several sets, numbering forty to fifty photographs each, have been prepared for lending to libraries, the libraries during the period of exhibition displaying books relating to the general subject. There is also a collection of nearly 15,000 lantern slides. In 1914 these slides were lent to nearly four hundred persons. The slides most wanted are those of paintings, for use in classes in the history of art. Social service workers want lantern slides illustrating children, animals, etc. Sunday church audiences are interested in the slides illustrating Christ in art. The subject next in demand is architecture. Teachers use such slides to illustrate the history of architecture. It is surprising to learn that there has been little call for slides illustrating sculpture. This is also true of slides illustrating the minor arts, and yet these slides have been very useful. The story of the making of lace or of tapestry has been made much clearer in this way. Even a department store has used these slides to illustrate the history of costumes, thus making visible to

many the changes in dress from the earliest to the present time.

But what will attract most popular attention, we think, is the announcement that, in addition to the usual lecture series, there are to be lectures for salespeople, buyers, and designers, for the deaf, and for the blind. The lectures for the deaf are intended only for those able to read the lips of the lecturers, and those for the blind are to be illustrated with objects that may be handled.

Another announcement is that of the issue of a guide for the teachers of history, showing where illustrations for their subjects may be found and how they may be used. There has long been a necessity for a guide to objects in the collections which have a direct historical reference or which illustrate the art and life of a historical period; one section of the guide will have to do with geographic localities, another section with periods of history. We are glad to learn that a handbook for teachers of the classics is also in contemplation.

ALCOHOL AND EFFICIENCY

One of the significant and unexpected results of the new campaign for scientific efficiency in industry is the movement against alcohol. On several occasions *The Outlook* has called attention to this movement. Now comes the report of the Methodist Temperance Society, indicating how widespread is this movement.

This Society has made a careful investigation of conditions in the iron and steel trades of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and West Virginia. It finds sixty-three large concerns that have taken steps to determine the influence of the moderate use of liquor on working efficiency. Without exception these firms testify that the effect is bad. These corporations include such firms as the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, the Harrisburg Pipe and Pipe Bending Company, and the Illinois Steel Company. Eighty-three of the concerns questioned, in employing and advancing men, discriminate against those who use alcohol. To quote one of them, "Even the most 'moderate' use of alcohol is fatal to a man's chance of advancement." Among these eighty-three firms are the Oliver Chilled Steel Plow Works, the American Steel and Wire Company, and the Pennsylvania Steel Company. Ten great concerns have prohibited absolutely the use of alcohol on the part of employees. Among them are the

Reading Iron Company, the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company, and the Lukens Iron and Steel Company.

Under the old rule-of-thumb management this situation would never have come about. The effect of alcohol on efficiency would never have been known exactly. But when the new and supposedly infallible methods of efficiency at times failed, the resulting investigation into the cause showed that it was due to individual unfitness caused by the use of alcohol. And when it was shown that even a little alcohol—as little as might be in two glasses of beer—was the cause, the result was inevitable.

In the scientific plan of efficiency it is necessary, to use a military phrase, to hit the bull's-eye every time. A bullet in the first ring won't do. In such circumstances a workman need not be anywhere near intoxicated to be inefficient. A glass or two of beer makes the difference between a bull's-eye and a shot in the first circle.

The new plan of efficiency is so profitable to both employer and employee that whatever stands in its way must go. Economic necessity is making converts to prohibition. The Methodist Temperance Society's report shows how fast men are moving in that direction.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

A RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

Mr. George W. Wickersham is publishing in the New York "Sun" a remarkable series of letters interpreting and commending to the voters of New York State the proposed new Constitution. To these letters we are largely indebted in the preparation of this series of brief editorials.

In his letter published September 25 he describes the method of making appropriations for State purposes pursued under the present conditions. The various departments which expend State moneys, including over one hundred and fifty commissions and boards, send a statement of their requirements for the ensuing year to the Comptroller, who transmits them to the Legislature without power to revise or modify them. By the Legislature the appropriations are made, as the result of personal interviews, negotiations, and bargaining, of which the public has but scanty information. These appropriations are finally passed under one or more emergency messages from the Governor,

without being printed, so that often the members of the Legislature themselves neither read nor understand what they are voting for. It is not surprising that under this system, or no-system, the running expenses of the State have increased in the last twenty years upwards of 366 per cent, and the per-capita cost to the taxpayers has risen 225 per cent. The people are powerless to pass judgment on these expenditures or to check them if extravagant. They do not know who is responsible for the expenditures, and all they can do is to take the right to spend the money from the hands of one party and put it into the hands of another.

Under the new Constitution all boards, commissions, and other agencies for the expending of money will be under seventeen heads, nearly all of them appointed by the Governor and directly responsible to him. It will be their duty to present to the Governor on or before January 15 in each year their estimates for their several departments. These estimates the Governor, after public hearing, will submit to the Legislature on the 1st day of February, with his judgment upon them, and with appropriate bills for the appropriations proposed. Both he and the heads of the departments may, if they desire, and must if they are requested, appear before the Legislature and answer such questions as the Legislature or any members of it may desire to present. The Legislature may then make reductions in the proposed appropriations if it sees fit to do so, but it may not increase them. This amendment was adopted by the Constitutional Convention with only four votes in opposition—two Democratic, two Republican.

This amendment substitutes a responsible for an irresponsible government. All appropriations must be proposed and indorsed by the Governor. If he recommends extravagant appropriations, the people know whom to hold responsible. If he proposes niggardly appropriations, inconsistent with the efficient administration of the departments, they also know whom to hold responsible. It is true that there still may be bargaining between the special interests and the Governor, but it would be immediately discoverable by the press in the results appearing in the Governor's budget. The people under this system will know who spends the money and how it is spent. If the appropriations are extravagant, the people can hold the Gov-

ernor responsible for the extravagance, for he recommends it. If the appropriations are inefficiently or corruptly spent, the people can hold the Governor responsible, for he appoints the heads of departments under whose direction and control the money is expended.

The foolish man spends his money carelessly so long as he has it or can get it, giving little thought to the matter until his careless extravagances bring him to the edge of bankruptcy. The wise man adjusts his expenditures to his income, and knows beforehand approximately how much he has to spend and how much will be left after the expenditures have been made. New York State has been expending its money like the foolish man. Under the new Constitution it will expend its money like the wise man.

In a future article we shall consider some objections to the new Constitution. We report here one objection, important only because Judge Cullen, one of the most respected judges of the State of New York, formerly of its Court of Appeals, has lent it importance by urging it. The Convention in a small meeting, by a small majority—65 to 50—rejected the following amendment:

Nor shall any military tribunal exercise jurisdiction over a civilian unless engaged in military or naval service while the regularly constituted State courts are open to administer justice.

The failure to adopt this provision Judge Cullen regards as a peril to liberty, and he appeals especially to workingmen to defeat the Constitution because this amendment was not adopted.

The answer to his objection is threefold:

1. No such clause is in the old Constitution. Therefore to reject the new Constitution furnishes no safeguard; to adopt the new Constitution involves no new peril.
2. Adequate safeguard is provided both by the new Constitution and by the Constitution of the United States. The clauses of the old Constitution securing the right of jury trial to all persons accused of infamous crime are transferred to the new Constitution. These clauses are substantially identical with those in the United States Constitution, and the Supreme Court of the United States decided, during the Civil War, in the case of Milligan, tried in the State of Indiana by a military commission for treason, that,

while the regularly constituted courts are free to administer justice, no laws or usages of war "could sanction a military trial for any offense whatever of a citizen in civil life in no wise connected with the military service." The proposed amendment adds nothing to the protection already furnished to the civilian by both State and National Constitutions.

3. If additional safeguard is desired, it can be secured only by the adoption of the proposed amendment by the Legislature in 1916 and 1917 and by the people in the fall of the latter year. This action would be as necessary under the old Constitution as under the new; and as practicable under the new Constitution as under the old, if the people desire this superfluous amendment.

THE SITUATION IN CHINA

The Chinese boycott of Japanese goods and the popular interest in raising a defense fund, reported in this week's Outlook, furnish striking evidence of the fact that the Chinese are beginning to have a national consciousness and to act together for what they regard as national interests. These movements indicate also the widespread and intense popular feeling in China against Japan. This feeling is due to various causes. The Chinese have long regarded themselves as very much superior to the Japanese. One reason for this comfortable sense of superiority has been the fact that the Chinese as a race are very much larger physically than the Japanese. But China, like almost all the Eastern countries, has the habit of "looking down" on the rest of the world. China is very old; it has had a long and distinguished history; it created arts and literature, invented scientific instruments, and attained a high degree of civilization while the Western races were still barbarians. Even the Greeks, probably the most alert-minded race that has appeared, had a comfortable confidence in their position as Children of Light, while all the other people in the world were barbarians. A widely traveled American said not long ago: "You tell your Chinese cook to put salt into the soup and he obeys because he is an admirable servant; but every time he makes the soup he reflects on your ignorance and lack of cultivated taste in soups; his ancestors for three thousand years have never

used salt." The Japanese are not only a small people, but they inhabit a small group of islands; for many generations the Chinese have been an imposing people physically, inhabiting half a continent; they have therefore looked down upon Japan with contempt.

Then Japan began to stir herself; and in little more than half a century she developed an extraordinary genius for organization, education, scientific activity; she created a strong army and navy; she not only defeated the Chinese, but she defeated the most formidable neighbor of China. The pride of the Chinese was hurt by their defeat, and the extraordinary success of Japan awoke their jealousy. Many Chinese have the feeling towards Japan which the friends of an obscure boy have towards him when he becomes a man of great position and reputation; they cannot quite understand how he has succeeded in imposing upon the public, and they resent his success. Moreover, there has grown up in China a genuine fear of Japan. That fear has at times assumed panic forms. When the situation between the two countries became acute last spring, the flight of Chinese students from Japan, where they had been treated with the greatest hospitality, was like the flight of those who are in fear of their lives. It was impossible for the Japanese to allay the excitement or to remove the misapprehension.

To these causes must be added the irritation arising from the recent negotiations between the two countries and the exaction of privileges which Japan has secured from the Chinese Government. The Chinese interpreted the action of the Japanese, as many foreigners have interpreted it, as an attempt to take advantage of the confusion in Europe and the weakness of China to make encroachments against which the Chinese could not protect themselves. Moreover, Japanese criticism of Baron Kato and the Japanese Ambassador in China, who conducted the negotiations, suggests that the Japanese claims were presented with unnecessary and exasperating insistency and in a manner offensive to a sensitive and proud people.

The Japanese have declared again and again that their sole purpose was to protect China and Japan from further Western encroachments. They have insisted that their fundamental policy towards China is to unite the two countries in friendship for the safe-

guarding of their common interests. Japan finds herself practically alone among Oriental countries in her independence and national integrity. China is her nearest and most important neighbor. China is not, and will not be for some time to come, able to protect herself from foreign aggression; therefore the Japanese insist that they have a right, as a matter of national protection, to put themselves in such a relation with China as, while respecting her integrity and autonomy, to limit the building up of Western power in that country. If Japan has taken advantage of the weakness of China and has secured privileges which affect the integrity of that country, she has done precisely what England, France, Russia, and Germany have done before her; what every country has done except the United States. But Americans are holding Japan to a higher standard and are insisting that Japan shall, by the way in which she makes use of her privileges, show that she proposes to carry out the Monroe Doctrine, not only on the side of self-protection, but also on the side of disinterested helpfulness. If she does that, she will do what no European Power has done in China; but she will do precisely what the United States has done in Mexico and South America.

Meanwhile the political situation in China has assumed a dramatic form, Yuan Shi-kai, the President, holding the center of the stage. It seems to be agreed by all observers and students of Chinese affairs that the point of danger is the matter of succession to the position of Chief Executive, whatever that position may be called. It is this danger which Dr. Goodnow, now the President of Johns Hopkins University, and formerly adviser in China to the Chinese Government, emphasized in his much-misrepresented survey of the situation. That discussion was essentially academic in its character. It pointed out as a matter of history that where the intelligence of a people is not high and they have not acquired political wisdom by sharing in the exercise of political power under some form of constitutional government, the problem of succession to executive power is an extremely difficult one. Under such conditions a government in which the executive power is not hereditary tends to become a military dictatorship.

Many reports of Yuan Shi-kai have shown him facing two or three ways; and at this distance, and probably even in China, no one can tell which of those reports is authentic. That the whole subject of succession and of

his own position is uppermost in his mind there is no question; but his conviction and his predilections are shrouded in mystery. The latest development has been the action of the Chinese Council of State, more accurately called the Advisory Council, sitting as the Provisional Congress, in advising the President to call a Citizens' Convention during the present year to adopt a constitution that will settle the question as to the form of government which China is to have. The Provisional Constitution now in force provides that a Citizens' Convention must approve all constitutional changes; but the Council of State suggests that the President may "devise other proper and adequate means to consult the people's will with a view that a fundamental solution may be found so that the general situation may be settled and the people's mind be eased." This recommendation, if adopted, might transfer the responsibility to the President and reopen the whole question of the future form of government in China. This suggestion would make it possible for Yuan Shi-kai to consult the will of the people by making the Council of State created by himself a Citizens' Convention. The question now is, What does he mean to do? He has several times put himself on record as unequivocally opposed to the establishment of a monarchical form of government, and has declared that he would rather go into exile than wear a crown. He is also reported to have said that none of his sons was fitted to succeed him, and that he would rather retire to a small estate in England and live the quiet life.

Yuan Shi-kai is a very able man, probably the only man in China who is competent to deal with the present situation; but it is safe to say that no foreigner, and perhaps no Chinaman, knows his mind; and it may be that, after the Oriental fashion, these various suggestions are thrown out as tests of public opinion. He has a chance to be the George Washington of China; he has also a chance to revive for a time and in a modified form some kind of Oriental sovereignty. It is idle to speculate, and, above all, to prophesy. The fundamental fact in the situation is that the Chinese people are awake; that they have started on a course of national development, and that, although their history in the near future may not be without interruption and vicissitude, a great people is awaking from sleep and will presently become a great Power.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

AN ARGUMENT AND A TESTIMONY

Judge Hoyt, of the State of Washington, sends us the following letter :

It would seem from a brief article on page 70 of the September 8 issue of *The Outlook*, under the head of "A Woman's Right," that in the opinion of *The Outlook* the question whether women shall vote or not should be determined, not by those now having the right to vote, but by themselves; that to impose political responsibilities upon them unless they wish to assume such responsibilities is neither democratic nor just. This position seems to me to be untenable. The desires of women in regard to the exercise of suffrage not only should not be decisive upon the question, but should have no influence whatever, excepting so far as such desire may appeal to the judgment in determining the fact in the light of which this important question should be decided. The responsibility of deciding all governmental questions must rest upon those having the power to decide, and those clothed with such power cannot evade the responsibilities incident thereto. The question which should determine whether or not women should be invested with the right to vote is the effect of the bestowal of such right upon the general public. That the participation of women directly in public affairs will have an effect for good or ill to the general political body is, I think, beyond question. No one, so far as I know, disputes it. Some argue that such participation will be beneficial, and others that it will be injurious. If their participation is to be beneficial, all things considered, all good citizens should be in favor of it. If, on the other hand, it is to be injurious, no one should favor it. The responsibility of deciding that question rests upon those now clothed with the power, and every one participating in such decision must act in accordance with his belief as to what the result will be.

Would the bestowal of unlimited suffrage upon women be beneficial or injurious to the body politic? For thirty years and more I have held courts in the Territory and State of Washington, during more than eight years of which I was engaged in the trial before juries of both civil and criminal actions. During a large portion of this time women were clothed with the right to vote in such Territory and were charged with the duty

of serving as grand and petit jurors, and I can bear the most unqualified testimony to the fact that the presence of women upon the jury tended greatly to purify the atmosphere surrounding the trial of all cases, especially those of a criminal nature; and I became satisfied that verdicts which the law and the facts alone warranted were more frequently returned by juries composed of both sexes than by a jury of men alone; and, in view of the onerous nature of jury duty and the fact that such duty was willingly discharged by the women of this Territory when they were called upon, with the result as above stated, I have been led to an abiding conviction that not only will they be willing to discharge any duty which may be imposed upon them, but that they will so discharge it that the general public will be benefited by their actions therein. Nearly all kinds of criminal cases were tried before me with mixed juries, and I am satisfied that no woman was ever made to blush by reason of anything which occurred in court.

My experience upon the bench led me to believe that there was something wanting in the laws as enacted, especially those providing punishment for crime. Such laws, though strong and seemingly well devised for the accomplishment of the purpose intended, in some way were lacking in adaptability, and I think that all judges who have been called upon to preside at the trial of criminals before juries have come to the conclusion that there is something wanting in the nature of the laws enacted, so that they fail fully to meet such purpose; and it has occurred to me, and to other judges, that possibly this want of adaptability grows out of the fact that the female mind has not been brought into direct contact with the legislation. That the male and female mind are differently constituted every one admits. Most people will also admit that it takes the two minds to make up a perfect whole; and if this is so, is it not reasonable to presume that the perfect whole when engaged in enacting legislation will bring about better results than when only a part is thus employed?

JOHN P. HOYT.

We agree with our correspondent that those who possess political power must necessarily take the responsibility of deciding whether they will share it with others. The desires of women should not be decisive, but the men who have to determine this question

are entitled to know what the women think about it, for two reasons:

1. Because, if the women have a right to vote on any question, they surely have a right to vote on the question whether they will assume an added duty and responsibility to the duties and responsibilities which they are already carrying.

2. Because, if they are hostile or indifferent, the extension of the suffrage demanded by the few, but necessarily extended to the many, would be dangerous to the community. We have too many indifferent voters already.

The testimony of our correspondent as to the working of woman suffrage in Washington will, and ought to, carry weight with our readers. But they must remember that there has been from time to time testimony not less weighty on the other side. Our own investigations, which we have tried to conduct in an impartial spirit, confirm the judgment expressed by ex-Ambassador Bryce in "The American Commonwealth" (edition of 1910), that in woman suffrage States "such changes as there have been, for good or for evil, are less marked than their advocates or opponents expected."

THE CRIME OF COWARDICE

A cowardly Christian is a contradiction in terms. Courage is a primary Christian virtue. Cowardice in a Christian is disloyalty to his Master.

The cross is the battle-flag of Christianity and the cross is a symbol of self-sacrifice. Christianity is a call to enlist in a long campaign against the forces of sensuality and selfishness in the individual and in the community. To enlist costs. To the rich young ruler offering his service Jesus said, Go sell all that you have and then come and follow me. The Christian must dare for the cause to be poor. To the multitude, fascinated by his teaching, Jesus said, If your right hand offend you, cut it off; and if your right eye offend you, pluck it out. The Christian must dare for the cause to suffer pain and endure deprivation. To the chosen twelve whom Jesus was ordaining to be his staff officers he said, Woe unto you when all men speak well of you. The Christian must dare for the cause to face public obloquy. To a throng of would-be followers Jesus said, If one love father or mother or his own life more than me, he is not worthy of me. The Christian must dare for the cause to sacrifice

his life, and, what is dearer than life itself, those nearest and dearest to him. One may be timid and still be a Christian. But to yield to timidity is to be a deserter. A brave man may fear; but to yield to one's fear is to be a coward.

Three enemies combined to put Jesus to death—greed, ambition, and cowardice: greed in Judas Iscariot, who sold Jesus for thirty pieces of silver; ambition in Caiaphas, who plotted the death of Jesus because the teaching of Jesus was undermining his power; cowardice in Pilate, who in the same breath pronounced the accused innocent and surrendered him to the mob. It is difficult to say which is worse—the crime of the bargainer who sacrifices humanity to his lust for wealth, the crime of the office-holder, ecclesiastical or political, who sacrifices humanity to his lust for power, or the crime of the coward who sacrifices humanity to his desire for peace.

What did Jesus mean by, Resist not evil? Certainly not that we should let evil men ride over the prostrate bodies of our fellow-men while we hoist the white flag of surrender. There is a spirit of non-resistance which hopes to conquer evil by bravely enduring evil. It is often mistaken, but it may be heroic. There is a spirit of non-resistance which submits to evil because it dares not resist evil. This is the crime of cowardice. When it deceives itself and tries to deceive others by calling itself Christian, it would arouse our indignation if it did not excite our compassion.

There is at this time in this country a fear of war which calls itself a love of peace. It is not a love of peace. What is the difference? What is the difference between a fear of disease and a love of health? The athlete's love of health equips him for struggle and inures him to fatigue. The hypochondriac's fear of death keeps him in perpetual dread of draughts, germs, and mortal thoughts until by his dread of disease he invites it. The love of life vanquishes the fear of death. "Surely," says Robert Louis Stevenson, "the love of living is stronger in an Alpine climber roping over a peril or a hunter riding merrily at a stiff fence than in a creature who lives upon a diet and walks a measured distance in the interest of his constitution."

The manufacturer who merely fears war neither knows nor cares for the conditions of his workingmen until a strike is threatened; then he truckles to the mob. No price is too dear to pay for peace. The manufacturer who loves peace counts his working-

men as his partners and his friends, weighs their interests with his own, anticipates their rights and guards them, cultivates their good will and their loyalty by his loyalty to them. But if a demagogue stirs up strife and endeavors to drive from his employment an honest, fair-dealing, and loyal worker, the lover of peace fights to the bitter end, though the battle cost him his fortune. The merchant who merely fears war cares not for the interest of his fellow-men, drives the best bargains he can for his own pocket, hesitates not to steal a poor man's patent if he thinks the patentee too poor to protect it. But, threatened with a lawsuit, he hastens to propose a compromise, asks not what is just but what is profitable, and would rather pay one thousand dollars in blackmail than five thousand dollars in lawyers' fees. The merchant who loves peace believes in the Golden Rule, asks of his neighbor nothing which, if their places were changed, he would not give, and seeks no bargains that are not in principle and purpose advantageous to both parties. But if a defrauder or a blackmailer seeks to rob him of reputation or property or both, which belong to his family as well as to himself, he gives his enemy determined battle no less for the community than for himself. The minister who merely fears war lives in perpetual though half-conscious fear of his wealthy parishioners and his ecclesiastical superiors, courageously denounces the sins of a previous age and the errors of a different denomination, but is discreetly silent concerning sins in his own community and errors in his own church. The minister who loves peace promotes in his parish a spirit of charity and good will by his sympathetic understanding of all sorts and conditions of men, looks for and discovers to others the good in neighboring churches, joins in cordial fellowship with the Roman Catholic priest and the Jewish rabbi in common enterprises for the public welfare, and in his preaching and his personal ministry is an architect building up, not a critic tearing down. But he makes war on covetousness and sensuality, whoever in his congregation is profiting by those vices; and if he sees his young people imprisoned in Doubting Castle, or in what is perhaps a more noisome prison house, Dogmatic Castle, he dares to assault those fortresses of the enemy, no matter how influential in the community or in the church may be their defenders.

If a nation is dominated by a fear of war, it will precipitately adopt treaties which

promise peace without stopping to consider whether they will or can be maintained if a test should come; it will suffer its citizens to be murdered and their property destroyed by bandits in a neighboring territory rather than incur the hazard and expense of intervention; it will allow a sacred treaty to which it is a party guaranteeing the neutrality of a weaker nation to be violated without protest lest the protest should involve peril of war. And when the rest of the civilized world is in arms against the claim that might makes right, it will treat neutrality and indifference as synonyms, and will hesitate long over the question whether individual citizens may be allowed to loan money and send supplies to those who are hazarding their lives and fortunes for the truth that right makes might. But if the nation loves peace it will seek in all its international relations to do those things which promote between the nations mutual esteem and good will. It will scrupulously maintain its treaties and resolutely refuse to make any treaties which it cannot scrupulously maintain; it will respect the rights, the customs, the traditions, of other peoples and will demand respect for its own; it will seek the welfare of other peoples and will never be guilty of the folly of thinking that the calamities or impoverishments of one nation are a benefit to its neighbors; it will not impute to other peoples evil motives, but by its own expressions of good will in word and deed will cultivate the good will of other peoples.

And in the settlement of international controversies it will always prefer the appeal to reason to the appeal to force. But if a foreign Power endeavors to rob the people of their right to the peaceable enjoyment of their lives, their liberties, and their property, to secure for them that right the nation that loves peace will fight through seven long years of hazardous war. If the greatest naval Power in the world denies the right of other peoples to travel unvexed and unhindered upon the ocean, the nation that loves peace will fight in defense of that right. And if a power within the nation attempts to break it in twain and so establish a chronic warfare between rival powers and hostile civilizations, the lovers of peace will fight through the greatest and bloodiest civil war of the century to establish peace founded on union and consecrated to liberty.

The fear of war is not the same as the love of peace. It may be simply the crime of cowardice on a national scale.

HONOR

FROM THE ARMENIAN OF AVEDIS AHARONIAN

TRANSLATED BY ARSHAG MAHDESIAN

THE villages of Shadakh were filled with alarm. The name of Miko resounded from one mountain to the other and all the length of the valley. He had encamped on the summit of a cliff, whence he spread terror throughout the countryside. To the enemy he was like a lion that had escaped from his iron cage, athirst for vengeance against those who had subjected him to a merciless slavery. The Turkish and Kurdish brigands, the scourge of the Armenian villages, shook with fear at mention of the dread name of Miko. The Armenians blessed him; they prayed for his life. But among them there were, indeed, some who cursed their benefactor. It is thus that the sick child curses the doctor. The apathy of the slave leads him to prefer peace and quietude, no matter how disastrous. And no one cursed Miko so heartily as Hairo, of the village of K——.

Hairo was perfectly contented with his circumstances. In his stable were two strong oxen and some cows. Moreover, he possessed fields, which he cultivated with his own hands. He lived in peace and harmony with his parents, already advanced in age, and a young sister. It was true that at harvest time the Kurds and the Turks seized the greater part of the crops. Without doubt Hairo worked much and enjoyed little, but what remained had sufficed for his meager needs. It was said that the Turks had abducted an Armenian maiden, that the officials who had installed themselves in the house of Hairo's neighbor had outraged the man's wife, that the governor had insulted the daughter of the mayor. But these things did not concern Hairo. Everything was tranquil in his abode. No one had ever yet made rude remarks to his sister, Nazeh. "Besides," he would argue to himself, "who is blamable in such cases? The people know that these things are customary among the infidels; when they have strangers in their houses, let them keep the family apart." Thus he calmed his conscience. Each morning, with his whip across his shoulder, he drove his oxen to the fields, and at evening he returned, humming a song. Why should he not curse Miko? Had not Miko's audacious deeds aroused the anger of the Kurds and the officials until there was even a question of establishing a military post in the village?

Soon, indeed, this military post was established. It was near the fountain where the young girls of the village repaired for water. And for that reason Hairo was still further incensed at Miko and his comrades. An incident which happened then only served to increase this hatred.

It was at the close of an autumn day. Hairo, far from the village, in the solitary valley, had just finished plowing his last furrow.

"Good luck, Hairo!" cried some one, and Hairo, turning his head, saw Miko and his band of *haidouks* or revolutionists.

"Salutation!" responded Hairo, with suppressed hatred.

"What are you doing there, Hairo?"

"Do you not see that I am working?"

"But why work?"

In answer to this outlandish question Hairo stared at Miko and muttered:

"One would think you did not know that one has a family to support, and needs bread!"

"Ah, you labor in order to have bread!" exclaimed Miko, ironically. "You do well, Hairo! But do the Kurds and the Turkish officials leave you enough bread? Since you labor so much, have you still some bread at home?"

"Assuredly," answered Hairo.

"I am very glad of it," replied Miko. "In that case, dear neighbor, we shall watch your oxen while you go and fetch us some. As you see, we are fugitives living in the mountains; we are forbidden to enter the villages. We are Christians like you, Armenians like you, and we have eaten nothing since yesterday."

That was the last straw! Hairo to go and bring bread for the bandits—for the rebels! He sought an excuse to refuse, alleging fatigue and the distance, but in vain. Miko became more stern, more imperious. And Hairo at last submitted, muttering, as he left his oxen and took the path to the village:

"May God turn his face from you!"

Passing the military post, he stopped. A terrible thought crossed his brain: Would it not be best to warn the officials and thus to rid himself forever of this demon Miko? He took a few steps forward with this intention, but suddenly a name which he had heard in church and which never had recurred to him so forcibly held him back—Judas! He stopped short, his lips repeating automatically, "Judas! Judas!" He even seemed to hear a mys-

terious voice repeating ceaselessly: "Judas! Judas!" He hastened past the military post as though to flee the temptation.

Miko received the bread. Hairo's hatred of Miko increased tenfold. He would have been glad if the authorities had arrested Miko, if they had destroyed him. But he himself was afraid of committing a crime by betraying Miko.

Days passed, and Hairo resumed his customary labor; he even forgot about Miko. Then, one dark and ominous evening, as he returned from the fields, walking slowly, nonchalantly, like the two indolent oxen which he drove, and humming a tune while the oxen chewed their cuds, he was suddenly startled by the shriek of a woman. He stood petrified, shuddering to the marrow of his bones. Even the oxen were startled and pricked up their ears.

Inside the military post a crime was surely being committed—the victim must be a woman! Near the fountain was the pitcher which she had brought for water. Hairo's first impulse was to flee. What could he do? Should he enter or cry for help? Of what use would that be? Why meddle with the affairs of others? Did it concern him? He merely wondered who the woman might be.

He took one step forward, but could not proceed. He seemed powerless to move; an irresistible force nailed him before the military post. It was the powerful voice of justice, newly awakened in his soul, that held him there, that protested against the horror of the crime committed.

Suddenly the door of the military post opened, and a woman, tearing herself from the foul hands of the officials, flew into the arms of Hairo, screaming, piteously:

"Save me, brother, save me!"

It was Nazeh!

Hairo's eyesight failed him, as though a thunderbolt had stricken him blind. It seemed to him that the universe was falling to pieces; that the world was coming to an end. Thus he bore home the little unconscious Nazeh. Then he withdrew to a corner, shedding tears that could not assuage his grief. It was long since he had wept, and his copious tears were bestowed upon all the wounded, dishonored Armenian women and maidens, whose anguish he now could realize. He wiped his eyes and seized a club. The night had already fallen.

"Where are you going, my son?" asked the old father. "The night is pitch-black;

you can expect nothing good, either from heaven or earth."

"I must go away," answered Hairo. "What I have seen I can no longer endure. Does it rain? So much the better. May it rain stones upon my head! Oh, why have I not been stricken mute? I cursed Miko and his deeds, but if the deeds of Miko are accursed whose shall be blessed? Mine? I labor to nourish the Kurds and the Turks, and the officials dishonor my sister."

So saying, Hairo threw his peasant's cap to the ground, knotted a kerchief around his brow, after the fashion of women, and was lost in the darkness and the rain to search for Miko. Long he wandered, muttering always the name of Miko. The rain beat against his face, the wind tangled his hair, but on he went, like the spirit of darkness in search of his prey, like a ghost which the paternal curse drives from the tomb in the terrifying hours of the dark night. Now and again he stumbled, exhausted, in the darkness. He wished that he might change into a flame, to set the world afire, that the military post and its accursed officials might be consumed. He vowed to be avenged, to wash in death the stain of dishonor upon his sister. It was necessary to find Miko at any cost. For days, weeks, he wandered; at last he found him, and threw himself at his feet.

"I am unfit to live longer, Chief," Hairo groaned. "Kill me and throw my corpse to the dogs; I wish no more of this existence. The people related to me many wrongs, but I did not feel the misery of others. No one had ever wounded me; no one had ever pierced my heart; my sister had not been outraged, and I was indifferent. Kill me if you will, but avenge the honor of Nazeh. Destroy the military post, massacre the officials, and thus you will avenge all our outraged Armenian maidens."

His face burned with anguish; he tore his breast with his nails; it seemed to him that he had been buried in burning coals. He lamented his former ingratitude to Miko and his comrades. Never was contrition more profound and sincere. It was thus that Hairo became a *haidouk*.

"Chief," he repeated often to Miko, "see that I do not die before having beheld with my own eyes the massacre of these ravishers. Then I am willing to die a thousand deaths for you, to go even to the depths of hell, if you wish."

At last the hour of sacred vengeance

sounded. It was a dismal night of the late fall. The village of K— was sunk in a troubled sleep. In those regions sleep is akin to death, so much do the unfortunate people fear the unknown danger which they always feel hovering over them. Nazeh lay with open eyes. Since the outrage and the disappearance of her brother sleep had forsaken her eyelids. She lived only in the hope and expectation of her brother's return. Suddenly the dismal barking of dogs was heard in the distance, and the village dogs responded. That was the only manifestation of life in the village. Then a loud report rent the silence, followed by a fusillade.

Nazeh raised herself upon her bed and listened. With the reports of the guns were now mingled cries from the direction of the military post. She trembled, feeling instinctively that the turmoil concerned herself.

She arose noiselessly, dressed herself, and, opening the door cautiously, mounted to the roof of the house. The military post was a mass of flame, illuminating all the village. In the light of the conflagration a desperate battle was being fought. The guns thundered ceaselessly, and Nazeh's breast heaved with the emotion of mingled fear and delight. The thought that Hairo was there, in that combat, perhaps wounded, inspired her with extraordinary courage, and she was seized with an irresistible desire to be near the fire, near

Hairo—to see with her own eyes the slaughter of her tormentors, to hear their groans and their death-rattle of agony.

She descended from the roof and ran to the military post. There raged a terrific battle. Some of the officials shrieked in the flames, and others, while seeking to flee, fell under the bullets of the *haidouks*. One of the *haidouks* was distinguished by his ardor in the combat no less than by his cruelty; he was a tall, broad-shouldered peasant who wore a strange headdress, a kerchief knotted around his head, as worn by women. The commands shouted by Miko, the Chief, rang through the air; the faces of the avengers, lighted by the flames, wore a dreadful aspect. All at once, as a shot rang across the flames, the man in the kerchief reeled and fell, and Nazeh at that instant reached his side and caught him in her arms.

Hairo passed his arm tenderly around her neck and embraced her. He was pale; his lips trembled. The girl saw that he leaned more and more heavily upon his elbow. The blood flowed from a wound in his breast. Nazeh pressed her hand upon the gaping wound, and covered his pale brow with kisses. Rapidly his strength failed; and as he threw aside the kerchief that had been his headdress he murmured:

"Now I can die; I have vindicated my manhood and avenged your honor!"

THE MEXICAN PROBLEM

II—REGENERATION FROM WITHIN—A HOPELESS SOLUTION

BY EDWARD I. BELL

IF we hold a preliminary examination of ourselves, we shall find that most of us have been filled with disgust for the entire Mexican matter and have turned our backs upon it. In general we have approved what has been said officially and what we thought was being done. We have looked upon the troubles of Mexico as no affair of ours; we have wondered why we were pestered with them. It has seemed well to us that a liberal arms supply should go to the Mexican fighters in order that some person—any person—should dominate. Thus we hoped to avoid war. We have not been interested in the details. Quite a long time

ago we ceased to advertise the high morality feature of our purpose. Patience under provocation has been our best offering of the last several months.

We have not permitted the misfortunes of our own people who were residents in the zone of trouble to disturb our tranquillity. We have looked upon them as adventurers or worse, with little claim upon our regard. We knew that two or three hundred of them had been killed and some thirty or forty thousand despoiled of their property and their livelihood, but we had warned them and could not be expected to go to war on their account. Our duty toward them, if any,

seemed well performed when we told them to leave their Mexican homes and all they had and accept our offer of conveyance to safety. We were surprised at the fuss made over one British subject by the name of Benton who was killed by Villa because he objected to paying the prohibitive export tax on cattle which Villa imposed.

Our stock of patience has not been depleted by the infelicities of our corporations and individuals with large Mexican interests. Rather, we have enjoyed their discomfiture. Entirely without knowledge of the facts, we have charged them with exploiting Mexico's natural resources to the detriment of the Mexican people; with possessing monopolistic "concessions" gained through the purchased favor of a former despotic Mexican Government. We have denounced them as disturbers of Mexico's peace; as having contributed large sums of money to certain factions in the hope of securing special commercial privileges. The losses of these large operators have been looked upon by us as the merited result of attempts to grab an unworthy advantage. Neither the operators themselves nor the million or so of our people who are shareholders in their enterprises have been viewed as entitled to a high degree of our esteem. In our official circles no attention has been accorded them; their property interests in Mexico have rendered their reports unfit for credence. Our attitude has been tersely summed up; we would not employ our army and navy to pull corporation chestnuts from the Mexican fire.

As to the Mexican people themselves our ideas have been vague; dislike of their personality and distrust of their motives have been fundamental. We have regarded the people of property as having acquired their wealth by force or political favor. In our haste we have pilloried every Mexican landowner as a local despot, as a destroyer of ancient landmarks by which the rightful owners have been beggared. According to statements freely printed in our newspapers, 457 men owned all the land of Mexico. This has appalled us and appeared to us to be a perfectly good reason for a Mexican revolution; it was impossible that such a state of affairs could go on in a country of 760,000 square miles inhabited by 15,000,000 persons. In April, 1914, President Wilson defined the Mexican trouble as "a fight for the land, nothing more."

If we have had a live interest in anything

Mexican, it has been in the nine or ten million Indian peons who perform Mexico's manual labor when conditions permit the pursuits of peace to be carried on. We conjured visions of these picturesque, unhandsome natives rising *en masse* against their oppressors and demanding their rights. We compared them to the eighteenth-century serfs and peasants of France, and the Mexican turmoil to the French Revolution. Our hearts were touched by these visions. We knew that France had waded through seas of blood to throw off its despotism, and had risen to undreamed of greatness from the ashes of anarchy. This, we had been told, was the experience Mexico must pass through, and the blood lust and brutal excesses of the peon were to us only steps in the progress of the nation from despotism to democracy. We shuddered at some of the shocking details that were headlined in our newspapers, but we wished the peons God-speed and voiced our approval of the freest possible passage to them from our borders of an ample supply of military goods.

Another division of the Mexicans has been before us for judgment during many months and has had our unqualified censure. This is made up of the "honest people," "the intelligent middle classes," the "backbone of the nation." We charged these and the sons of property-owners with having lifted no hand to save their country from ruin. We charged them with cowardice, indifference, lack of patriotism. Our editorial writers have been at their best in denouncing these men who ran away from their obvious duty and are refugees with us or in Cuba or Europe. These weaklings, so said our writers and others, have been waiting for our soldiers to do their work. Those of us who have read or listened have echoed the phrases of contempt. Let the full-grown, able-bodied Mexicans fight their own battles, has been our verdict; let them screw their courage to the sticking-point and be at the business of their country.

In all of these half-formed—with many of us sub-conscious—impressions of the Mexicans and the Mexico which make up our present problem we have been consistently altruistic, but consistently hoping that if rivers of blood must flow it would be Mexican blood, not ours. We found our consistency unimpaired when we declined to excite ourselves over the robbing, outraging or killing, or otherwise disposing of our resident nationals. We classed them among Mexico's

(Continued on page following illustrations)

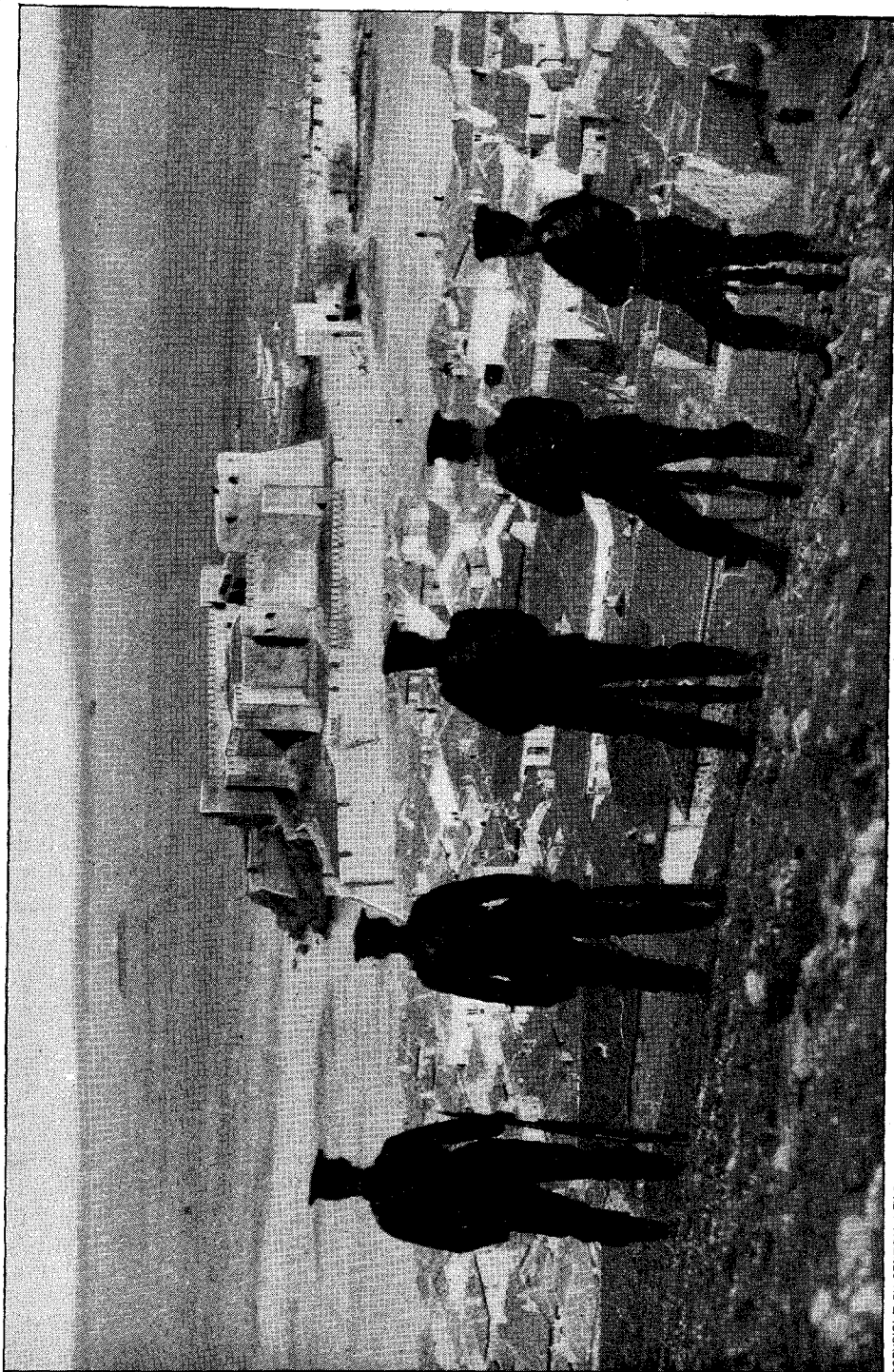
Current Events Pictorially Treated



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FIFTY YEARS AFTER!

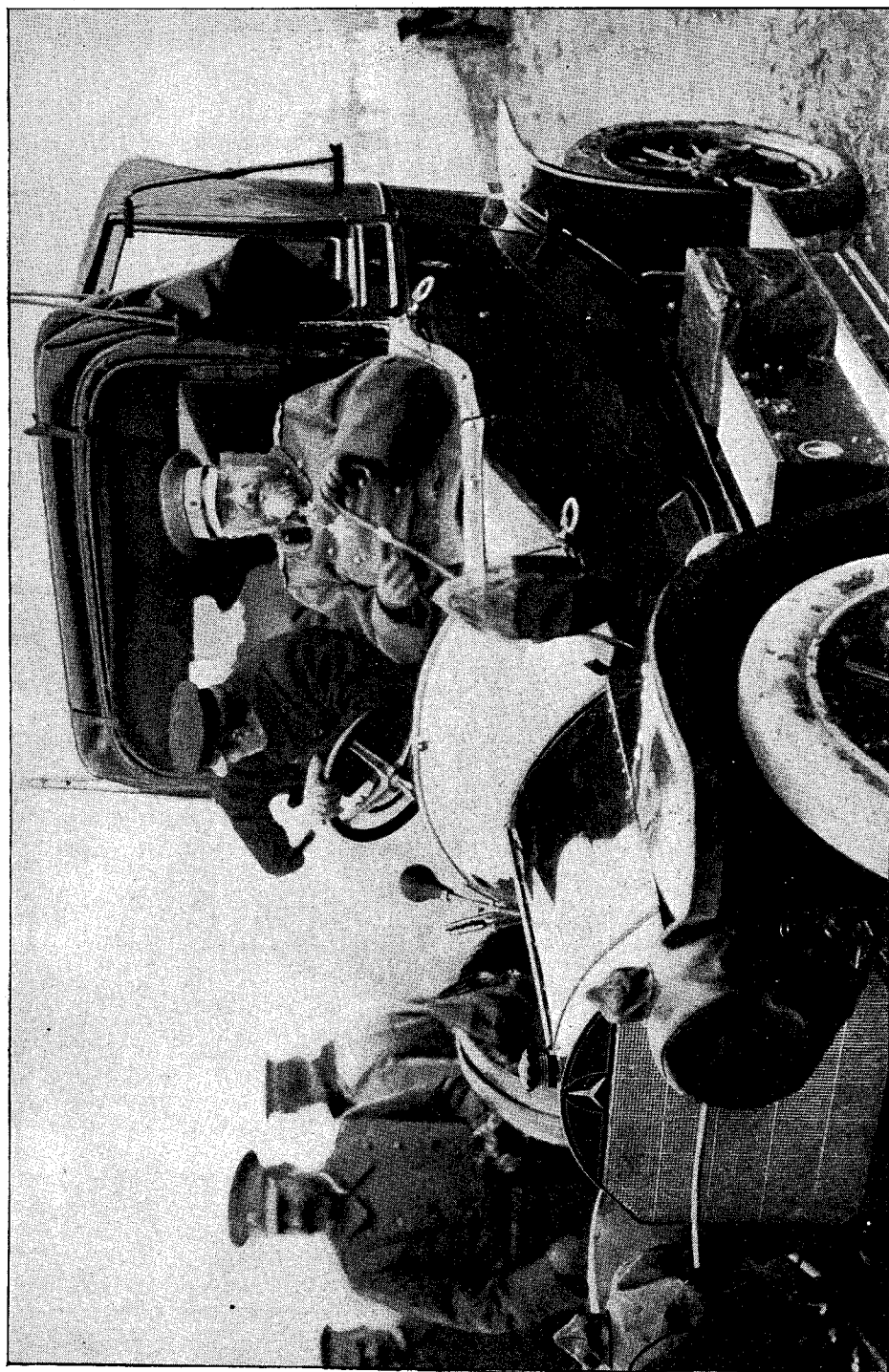
A few days ago, at Washington, 20,000 veterans of the Civil War joined in a celebration in commemoration of the great review that marked the return from their victorious campaigns of the Federal armies at the end of the war in 1865. They were the survivors of 200,000 who marched in a similar parade over the same route fifty years ago. The soldier whose picture is printed above—George H. Merrill, of the Eighth Massachusetts Regiment—is carrying the drum which he used half a century ago during the great conflict. See editorial comment



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THE STRUGGLE FOR THE POSSESSION OF CONSTANTINOPLE

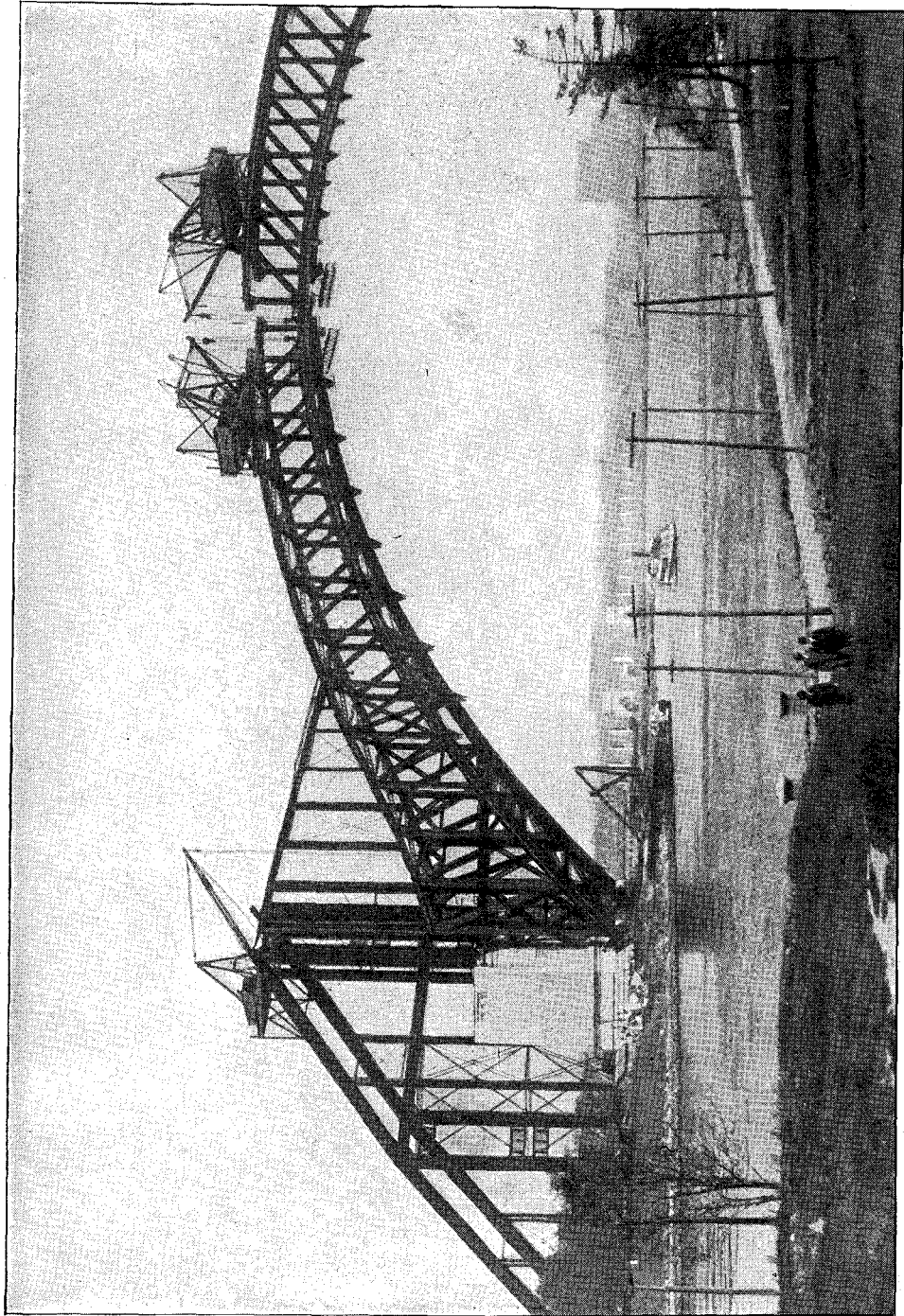
This striking photograph shows one of the old-fashioned forts on the Dardanelles, where the Turks have been so stubbornly resisting the attacks of the Allies. The contest for the modern fortifications and trenches, which are the key to the great prize of Constantinople, can be compared in intensity and duration only with that which took place in the Russo-Japanese War for Port Arthur



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KING FERDINAND OF BULGARIA READY TO ENTER THE WAR

The ambition of King Ferdinand to re-establish Bulgaria as a great European Power is well known. To this end he has been playing a "waiting game" with patience, and bargaining with the struggling Powers with adroitness. Some observers think he has waited too long in trying to decide which way the "the cat will jump" and has made a wrong guess



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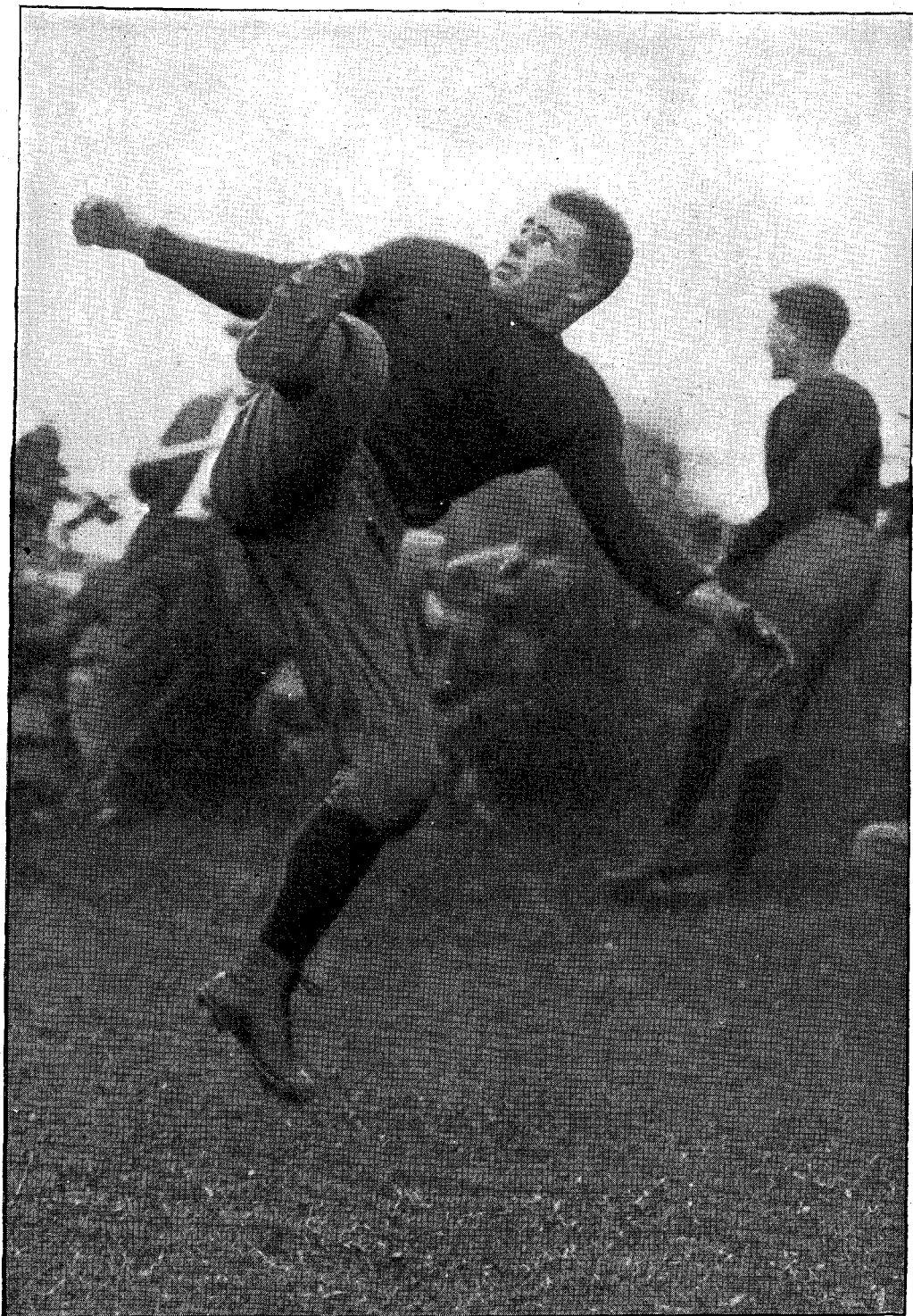
THE GREAT "CONNECTING BRIDGE" OVER THE EAST RIVER NEARING COMPLETION

This bridge, which will enable passengers and freight to be sent through from New England to the South and West without transshipment at New York, entered on the final stage of its completion recently, when the great arch shown in the picture was joined in midstream. See description elsewhere



THE PIG AS AN EDUCATOR

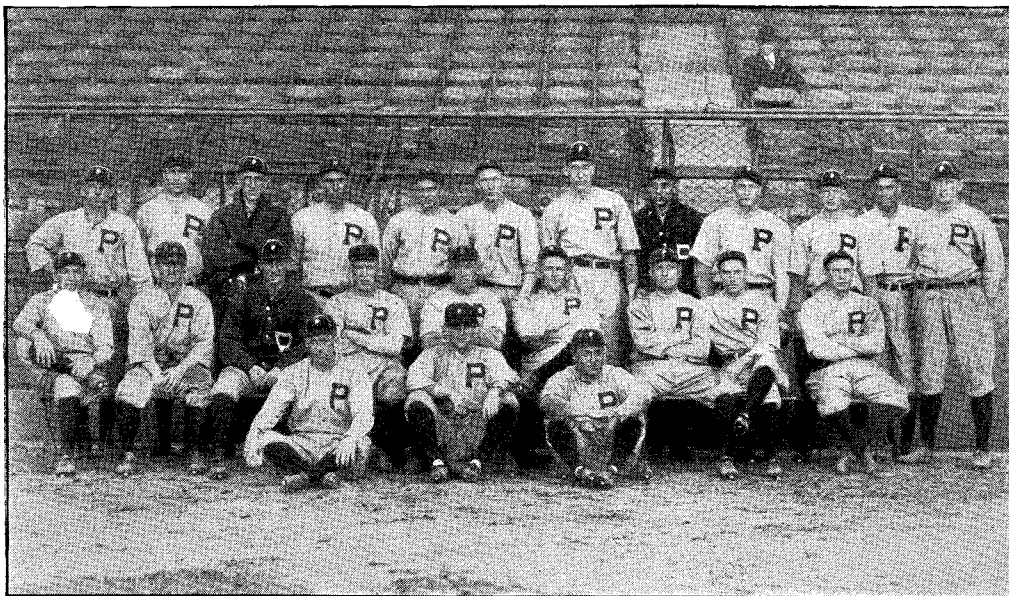
The Boys' Pig Clubs that have recently proved so successful in raising standards among both the pigs and their owners are described elsewhere in this issue. The picture shows a prize-winner, Terry Dill, of South Carolina, and the pig that won for him fame and the sum of one hundred dollars



PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL THOMPSON

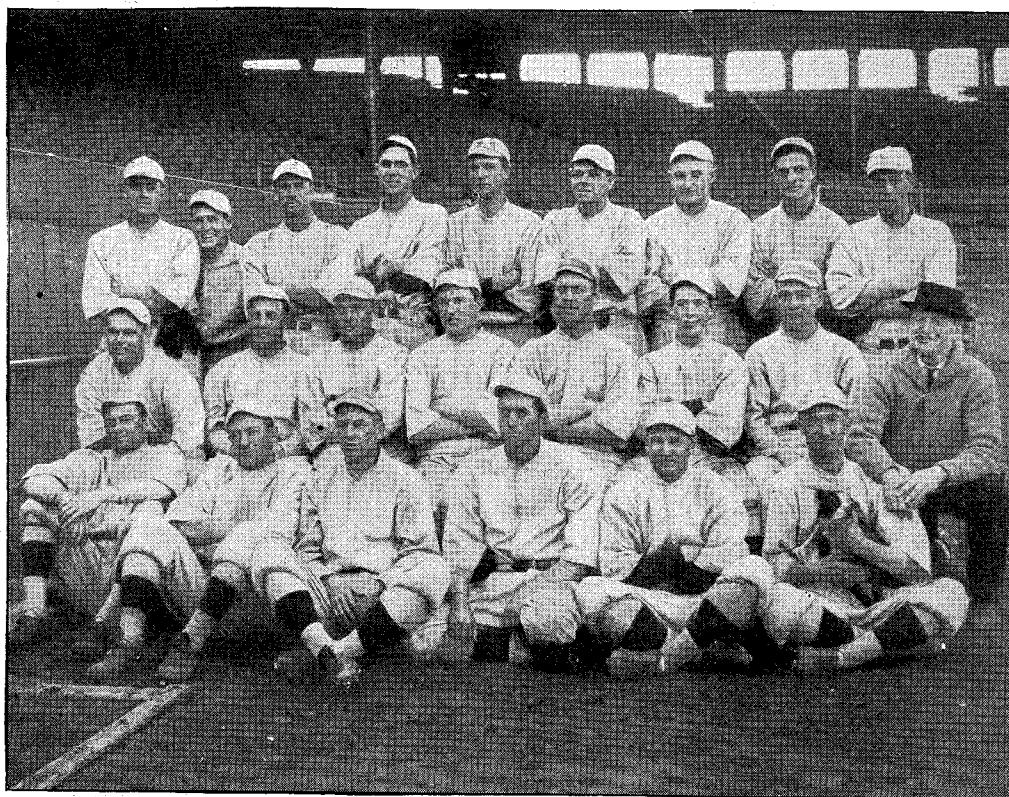
THE BEGINNING OF THE FOOTBALL SEASON—A SPECTACULAR KICK

Rarely does the camera catch a more striking attitude than that shown in the above snapshot. This is a photograph of Le Gore, of the Yale eleven, just finishing a punt



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THE PHILADELPHIA TEAM, CHAMPIONS OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE



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THE BOSTON "RED SOX," CHAMPIONS OF THE AMERICAN LEAGUE

THE END OF THE BASEBALL SEASON—THE SUCCESSFUL TEAMS THAT WILL PLAY FOR THE "WORLD'S CHAMPIONSHIP"

The varying fortunes of the teams in successive years may be seen in the fact that the world's champions of last year, the Boston "Braves," finish this year in second place, while the world's champions of several previous seasons, the "Athletics" of Philadelphia, are this year the "tail-enders" in their association. Boston and Philadelphia, however, each have a champion team this season, as last



PHOTOGRAPH BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

PUZZLE PICTURE—FIND THE MULTI-MILLIONAIRE

The disguising effect of costume has a striking illustration in the above photograph of three miners—the one at the right being Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who donned miner's dress in order to go down in the mines of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company at Trinidad, Colorado, during his investigation of labor conditions in the vast industrial enterprises of which he is head; the man next him is Mr. Rockefeller's special labor investigator, Mr. W. McKenzie King; at the left is one of the working miners of the company

oppressors on the ground that they had gone to that country to make money out of it. Because the altruism in our attitude toward Mexico has been so plain to us we have been content with our course, altruistic endeavor being among the best things we do.

This sense of being at ease in Zion has been riveted in place by many utterances of our President, our press, and our pulpits. We are not as other peoples, quarrelsome, unjust, oppressors. We give liberally to the poor and suffering everywhere. We are the foremost advocates of universal peace and brotherhood. By the exercise of infinite patience and the cultivation of our rhetoric we have gone far in our efforts to make the pen mightier than the sword. We pass judgment freely on the acts and motives of other nations and on our own people who stray beyond our own vine and fig tree. We do all this inspired by confidence in our own rectitude, fortified by lofty precepts, and in serene contemplation of our God-given mission to elevate the world.

It is a far cry from this to the sordid facts of our relation to the Mexican matter.

Our hasty estimates of our nationals resident in Mexico, of our capitalists controlling interests there, or of the Mexican people themselves have been unjust. If we consider closely the forty thousand or so of our people who were resident in Mexico at its best in 1910, we shall find that they measure well in comparison with any average forty thousand of our men and women at home. Many had gone there on the urgent advice of others who had gone before. Many had traveled there for pleasure or information and were favorably impressed with the opportunities the country afforded. Many were sent as managers, clerks, superintendents, by our corporations or capitalists, and were in charge of affairs demanding initiative and ability. Some were engineers on important works, some were resident representatives of our commercial houses. More than fifteen hundred men went from us to railway posts as officers, agents, conductors, engineers. A good percentage of all these brought their women folks. They pursued their vocations after the usual manner of our people. The fugitives from justice and the adventurers who have figured so prominently in our estimates were not in evidence in 1910. If they had been there previously, they had passed on.

These nationals of ours loved the Mexican

life. They hoped to live out their lives there. Occasional visits to the home land whetted their appetites for the land of their adoption. They prospered in greater or less degree. Industry and brains brought surer returns than at home, for both were in demand. Few acquired wealth. Nearly all were in comfortable circumstances. In Mexico City contact with the European world was close. France, England, Germany, Holland, Spain, Belgium, all were represented in large-scale merchandising, contracting, and banking. Between the Mexican capital and our cities the travel was heavy and the interchange constant. There was nothing more adventurous in the life there than in our own land. There was much to broaden one's vision which we lack. If you speak to any person who has lived as much as two years in Mexico before the evil days came, you will find him looking forward to the day of his safe return. You will not find him an exploiter, but one who in Mexico planned for permanence; whose greatest material gain must come from the general progress of all. Wherever one of our resident nationals made one dollar in Mexico, the Mexicans themselves gained several times as much.

The activities in Mexico of our corporations and capitalists have been misjudged also. They have not been the disturbers of Mexico's peace. They have had no privileges from any Mexican Government except the right to do business under restrictions much sharper than at home. In no sense have they been exploiters of Mexico; rather they have been its developers. They also have built for permanence, not for the ephemeral profits of a season or a limited term of years. They built broadly, firmly, liberally. They are entitled to our commendation for their fair dealing in times of peace and to our regrets for their losses in these days of stress.

There were two reasons at least for this corporate rectitude. One reason is that under the Diaz Government no monopolies or enduring special privileges were granted. The other is that, after our capitalists learned their Mexico, they would not have accepted them as a free gift; the least desirable and the most dangerous possession an American could have in Mexico was a monopolistic concession of more than local character. For this reason all talk of contributions by our capitalists or corporations to promote revolution in Mexico may be passed by as wholly without foundation in fact. The most per-

sistent definite charge that such contributions have been made is that the Waters-Pierce Oil Company, Standard Oil being then in control, financed Madero's successful revolution against Diaz in 1910-11. This is wholly untrue, not because the oil people lacked opportunity, but because they would not accept it. For months Gustavo Madero, the financial scout for Maderist funds, besieged these oil interests with dazzling offers of privileges in the Tampico fields, the most productive oil belt in the world. The offers were rejected for purely business reasons. The delivery of such privileges would have destroyed Madero, and the beneficiary of them would have been exiled from Mexico forever.

I cite this instance as fully illustrative of the point and because I have learned both sides of it. Six weary months, from October, 1910, to March, 1911, Gustavo Madero peddled Mexican monopolies among our capitalists without one acceptance. Not one dollar of American money did he secure. It is certain that no corporation aid has gone to the present fighting factions except such as has been extorted by robbery, taxes, and deals in fiat currency.

The operations of the American capitalist in Mexico in peace times were constructive and wholly beneficial. The "concessions" he received were of the usual restrictive Mexican order; they were the equivalent of our "charters," only with greater degree of accountability to the Government. The privileges he received were rights to enter his first machinery equipment without import duty; partial exemption from property taxes for a limited term; permission to build spurs of railway to connect his works with transportation lines, and similar legitimate encouragements to invest his capital. In return the Government exacted submission to its stringent laws then existing and any future ones that might be enacted. It prescribed the limits of the business to be carried on, and in many instances placed restrictions that no State of ours would dare to impose. A definite minimum of investment was a prime essential in most cases.

No grants of land were made to any foreigner. The projectors of all railways paid for their right of way except through Government land. Railways of "prime necessity" received a cash subvention to aid in the work of construction; some of the early ones received as high as \$7,000 a mile.

Except for such important lines no cash or other subsidies were paid. Every foreign "concessionaire" surrendered his right of appeal to his home government in matters covered by the business carried on under the "concession." Legally his business was purely Mexican. His personal rights of nationality only were left untouched.

There has been no excuse for the misstatements that have been made about these matters. The charters or "concessions" under which our corporations have done business in Mexico are all of one pattern. They are on file in the main offices of the corporations and the capitalists in New York and other of our cities. They have been rigidly lived up to, or all rights under them would have been forfeited long ago. The point has become of value because our official course in Mexico has been shaped by the misstatement of these facts.

Many of our capitalists looked over the conditions under which rights to do business on a large scale were conceded to them in Mexico, and refused to trade. They were used to far more liberal treatment at home. The business opportunities which they discerned must outweigh the handicap of full Government oversight, including the inspection at will of their books of account.

These restrictive measures were adopted by the Diaz Government to prevent American corporations becoming, as they were at home, too powerful to be controlled. Mr. José Yves Limantour, an extremely suave and very able gentleman who understood American business men, was the person who stood at the right hand of Diaz and held our corporations in check.

They were well treated, on the whole. They prospered; they increased wages; they taught the Mexicans how to advance in the grades of employment; they maintained schools; they encouraged thrift; they broadened the scope of their operations and became the best asset Mexico had. Fully two million Mexicans were in the employ of Americans when prosperity there was rudely interrupted by the upset of constitutional government.

Our corporations, however, should be censured for their unfortunate influence upon our Government while Madero was President of Mexico. Their lack of confidence in Madero's ability to rule provided no excuse for counseling the sharp demands from Washington which finally broke Madero down.

They contrasted his amateur efforts at governing with the precision of the Diaz machine, the clumsy grafting demands of Madero officials with the deft business proposals of the científicos, and they were filled with disgust. They did not exercise their usual keen judgment. They permitted Madero to be forced against the wall when it was their cue to sustain him by every means. They understand this now. Nothing which could have occurred in the well-intentioned but experimental government of Madero could have been comparable to the disaster that has come upon them.

With the facts as to our people and our corporations in Mexico in better working order, let us pass to the Mexicans themselves, whose classes have successfully eluded our comprehension and been the victims of much misstatement. First in line are the land-owners.

In 1910 there were 520,000 individual owners of real estate in the Republic of Mexico. There were 55,000 *haciendas* and farms and 31,998 tax-paying mines. Without going further into dry statistics, it will be clear that our ideas of the property distribution there have been entirely at variance with the facts. There were a few very large Mexican proprietors. The Terrazas and Creel families held 14,000,000 acres in Chihuahua, largely acquired since 1850. Much of it came from Benito Juarez in return for support before and after he became President. To this they added by purchase at the low rates prevailing until 1885 for Chihuahua land. The six Escandon families and the Iturbes held 1,000,000 acres, all of which had been handed down from original Spanish grants. The Maderos had—and still have—about 1,800,000 acres in fee and several millions under lease. Evaristo Madero, the patriarch of the Madero clan, who died in 1911, accumulated the land held in fee partly through grants of Juarez and partly by purchase. Twenty other families held from half a million to a million acres each.

The largest foreign landowner was Lord Cowdray's companies, with 800,000 oil belt acres in fee and 800,000 acres under lease. Next came the Hearst Estate, with about 1,000,000 acres in Chihuahua, which had been presented to the head of the Hearst family by Benito Juarez in return for practical aid in his revolutionary endeavors of the 1860's. The big American rubber companies owned or leased large areas for the growing of the

guayule shrub, and the big American mining and smelting companies controlled much wild land by payment of the regular unescapable mining land tax of six pesos yearly on each hectare (two and one-half acres). The six pesos was reduced one-half where more than twenty-five hectares were in one parcel. The Federal Government held a great deal of unproductive land; so did the various State governments.

Titles to the tracts held by native or Spanish owners had been variously acquired. Some had come through the iniquitous survey law of 1884, whereby a favored person was entitled to receive one-third of the land he surveyed and mapped, and gained a privilege to purchase the other two-thirds at an insignificant price. In this process many Indian families who had long been squatters on the land were either driven off or compelled to pay rent. Other large holdings had been conferred, as in the cases cited, on individuals by Benito Juarez when he was President of Mexico in return for services to his cause. To these holdings adjoining acres were easily added at from twelve to fifty cents an acre, which was the range of price for wild Mexican land until the railways began to be put through in the 1880's.

On the whole, the distribution of land in Mexico has shown less favoritism than with us. No grants there for any purpose have compared with the hundreds of millions of acres we bestowed upon our Western railways, the sale of which was manipulated to the greater benefit of persons than of the projects for which the grants were put through. These lands which we gave away so prodigally were very largely drawn from the 600,000,000 acres we took away from Mexico and paid about one and one-half cents an acre for plus the cost of mellowing the Mexicans into trading mood.

There has not been the slightest difficulty in buying land in Mexico by the peon or the plutocrat, or any other person who had the price. He could not buy land which the owner would not sell, but there were many owners who would and did sell, and there were many millions of Government acres scattered through the country, which were open to purchase at an insignificant price. The peon, to secure land of his own on which to live, was compelled to do as do our own homesteaders—he had to go where the land was.

The great land agitation was due to the

widely circulated statement that many large proprietors did not cultivate their estates, broad acres being unproductive and untaxed. This charge is not well founded, on the whole. Mexico is a country of extremely uncertain rainfall. Storage of water in great artificial reservoirs with irrigation ditches for distribution has been indispensable for profitable agriculture in the greater part of the nation. Even the large proprietors found the cost of their systems too great to be incurred recklessly. In nearly every case where these irrigation systems existed their cost was reflected in large mortgages on the estates. Agriculture under these conditions was decidedly a business requiring large capital.

The peons could not understand this. An experiment tried in San Luis Potosí in 1911 and 1912 made it clearer to those who took part in it. A large block of land was cut up in small patches and turned over to peon families to cultivate. They had neither water, seed, nor tools. Seed and tools were supplied on credit, but the rain did not fall, and the experiment failed.

Yet the demand for land went on in other places and grew into the hue and cry, the land fallacy, the mirage, by which we have been misled. Landowning conditions in Mexico were not perceptibly more iniquitous than with us. Some part of the Mexican land problem can be solved by a judicious system of taxation, but insufficient rainfall is the greatest obstacle to be overcome. This can be done only, as heretofore, by storage and irrigation.

Sadder than any other feature of this entire Mexican business—except our own culpability—is the present state of the Indian peon. The African slave trade of two centuries back offered no picture more sublime in its wretchedness. A million years of tyranny under a czar or a sheik could produce nothing comparable to the groveling misery which thirty months of exploitation has brought to these so recently inoffensive, kindly people. For the deliberate viciousness of this work, if for no other of their unnumbered crimes, Carranza, Villa, and their ilk deserve the bitterest and most humiliating punishment the sternest justice can provide.

We must not overlook the charge that Mexico's upper classes, its Catholics, and its American corporations were hindrances to the education of the peon; that they wished to keep the peon in ignorance in order to keep him in subjection and also to prevent a

rise in the cost of labor. There is no recent evidence in support of this charge, notwithstanding the eighty per cent of unlettered persons among Mexico's normal population.

Educational plans before the present century opened may have been secondary to the desire for solvency in the nation itself, but, with that assured, the effort to educate the poor was abundantly proved. Wherever an industry was in operation a school was to be found, and the Government system of common schools was steadily broadened. It was the children, not the adults, that were receiving the benefits of the system. It was a rare thing in 1910 to find a Mexican boy or girl of twelve to twenty years about any of the cities or towns who could not read and write. At that time there were 11,940 Government schools, with an average attendance of 800,000 pupils. Primary education was compulsory.

It was the Americans who made the Mexican people understand that ignorant labor was the most expensive, and it was the American industries that were the most active helpers of the Government in practical education of the rising generation. At their own expense they maintained schools wherever their plants were located at a distance from Government schools. They did this for business reasons; the greater the number of Mexicans of intelligence, the more easily their local labor problem would be solved. The business reasons did not stop there; the Americans gained greatly in the estimation of the Mexicans by this course. Catholic schools also there were in plenty, although they were not recognized as rightfully existing. By the Constitution of 1857 and the laws the Catholics had no right to teach. Ten years of stable government following the course of affairs as they existed in 1910 would have reduced the illiteracy of Mexico's peon population fully ten per cent.

The peon, ever the visible victim of Mexico's disputes, has found a new tormentor in us, his well-wishers. We have censured those who were intelligently advancing him as rapidly as he could expand to his widening opportunities. We have supported, against all the agencies that worked for the peon's enduring benefit, the criminal men who dragged him down. The depths of woe to which he has been brought I shall try presently to make clear.

How many thousands of Mexico's really honest people, who would not mix in the outrageous work of the despoilers, have been

ruthlessly murdered nobody knows. Neither do many know how courageous or patriotic they were. "Executions" of such persons who resisted the outraging of their women-folk by Carranzista or Villista or Zapatista soldiers and officers were too common to cause comment. From end to end of Mexico this dastard work has gone on, and our people have been demanding to know why Mexico's "honest people" have not asserted themselves. I find this a subject extremely difficult to treat with calmness.

Above half a million of Mexico's intelligent people are refugees with us or in the West Indies or Europe. More than half are women. A large number of the men are too old to carry arms. Not ten per cent of them have enough money to insure their bare subsistence for three months; very many are in abject poverty. Where would the money be found to finance an undertaking of the able-bodied among these refugees if they possessed the "courage and patriotism" which their critics say they lack?

There has been money in plenty for bandit movements. We have learned how the millions for such purposes have been achieved. What course would a movement of Mexico's honest people pursue to procure supplies of arms and get them landed in Mexico along with themselves? And if they could beg or borrow sufficient funds to effect a start in such a vain endeavor, how would they escape our neutrality and filibustering laws? How could they hope to avoid detection by the paid agents of Carranza among our own people? No honest Mexican has had encouragement from us hitherto. How shall he hope to serve his country in any honest way whatever when he is opposed by our public opinion plus his country's wreckers, plus the official opposition of our Government?

There is one more important element in this Mexican problem which has been the subject of controversy among us and of which a rational view should be taken. That is the relation of the Catholic Church to the peaceful governing and the advancement of Mexico. The actual fact of the matter is that a government of Mexico which is dominated by the Church cannot endure, and a government which endeavors to destroy and drive out the Church will destroy itself. It is between these two extremes that the Catholic Church must be placed in any governing plan which is calculated to succeed. The Church possesses a distinctly recognizable function in

Mexican life. It cannot be ignored; but it must not be associated with the power of the state.

And now, with the major facts of our Mexican riddle rebranded and sketched for common-sense consideration, we have to glance directly at the problem with which our good intent, our common sense, and our determination must cope. It hangs before us suspended on the cross which our misconception of the facts has permitted to be reared. It is a naked figure in mortal agony—Mexico, a crucified nation. Our problem is its resurrection.

Enough is known of the general wreckage throughout Mexico to make a detailed sketch unnecessary. We know that the nation must be rescued from the criminal classes that hold it; that the breath of normal life must be infused into it; that it must be rebuilt and restored to the charge of its honorable people. The reasons why we must do this, and at our own proper cost, without the exaction of any payment whatever, will be set forth in due time. What we must fix our gaze upon now is the picture of human suffering before us. It is a picture a pen may not draw. The mind may conceive its horrors as the facts are told. Thus may the call to the best that is in us take on urgency and effective steps be taken in quick response.

We are a generous people when our natural impulses are not hampered by a sense of duty. We sent our money by millions to Belgium, which had no claim except the appeal of its sufferers. We sent hospitals, nurses, cargoes of medicine, clothing, and food. We gave ourselves up to Belgian relief. It was a fervent, practical outpouring of our spontaneous impulse to succor the helpless. It is in such works that our enthusiasm attains its most irresistible momentum. Let us now turn our eyes toward Mexico and make it the scene of our good works. Duty, justice, our own honor, demand this of us, but let the first appeal be to our hearts. So shall our action be hastened and our best ingenuity applied to make it effective. In solving the problem of relief for Mexico's starving millions we shall solve the problem of our national obligations.

There are many obstacles to be encountered and overcome. Our Red Cross has been driven back defeated. The men who despoiled Mexico of its food are circulating

false stories of its condition. They are posing as benefactors themselves. They are buying back a bone to fling to the cowering skeletons about them in return for the meat they robbed them of. Do not be deceived by reports of prodigious quantities of food supplies being shipped from our ports and distributed by the designing men who just now are courting favor, who may even themselves be appalled at the starvation about them. Where the reports announce 1,000 tons of grain as having been disbursed to the hungry, take your pencil and write down quickly ten tons as the maximum amount. Where you see the figures 7,000 tons write down seventy tons. And as you write be certain that behind the acknowledgment of any need whatever there lurks a tragedy too dark for the world to look upon.

For Mexico is not only shorn of life-sustaining foods; it is incapacitated for producing them. In an earlier article we have seen the agents of the great impostor gathering in from Mexico's most productive areas the ship-loads of corn and barley and beans and cattle and sending them to Cuba and to Spain and to us for cash. We have seen that while they were doing this, as long ago as last March, the peons of the richest agricultural section of Mexico were sustaining existence on roots and ferns. We now must be told that the means by which new crops of food may be grown have been destroyed.

It is not merely the seed that is gone, it is the implements, the machinery, the horses, mules, burros, and all that goes to make cultivation of the soil a possibility. If you take the map of Mexico and let your eyes wander over its broad areas, where five years ago 15,000,000 satisfied human beings lived the life that pleased them best, you will realize in some degree the measure of its present misery, for in all that land, except the State of Oaxaca, no Mexican or Spanish *hacienda*, farm, or ranch is in possession of its rightful owner, no crop has been allowed to mature, no new crops have been planted. No cattle, sheep, or goats are grazing on the hills or in the valleys, for all have been killed for their hides by thieves or stolen and shipped to us for cash. On the properties owned by Americans and Europeans little work has been done, as the managers have nearly all been driven from the land, their houses looted,

their equipment stolen or destroyed, their growing crops used as forage for army animals, and their stores of seed and produce commandeered or burned.

The peons in these country sections and in the towns and cities have ceased to work. There is neither strength for labor nor disposition to perform it. There is, in fact, no employment to be had except in a few industries controlled by our capitalists, who have persisted at advancing loss in their endeavors to operate sufficiently to hold their native people about them, to feed them, and to keep them from joining the armies of destruction as the only method by which the means of subsistence could be obtained.

The women and children of the peon class are in a state of misery of which no adequate idea can be supplied. The women on the food lines in the cities waiting for hours and receiving nothing or no more than a handful of the precious corn are those in whom there still remains the strength to drag themselves about. The starved and dying ones in the dark hovels, the shriveled forms of famished children, the certainty of lingering death awaiting in a day or a week—these are the ones not named in reports, but who are in the advance guard of the army of suffering and close to the end of the ghastly campaign.

There is no need to pursue this sketch. Let imagination complete it for us. Only do not doubt. Mexicans can subsist on very little. They cannot live on nothing at all. The peon of the mountains may eat wild fruits to some extent and for the rest may find the bark and sap of trees; the peon of the fields may eat the stuff on which animals feed; but the peon of the town and the city is doomed to die, he and his, unless we reach them with efficient, abundant aid, and soon.

How we must go about it is part of the work cut out for us in the regeneration of Mexico, which is ours to do—not another's. The method will be outlined in a subsequent article. Until it comes let the vision of crucified Mexico make its appeal to us. Let it break open the wells of pity within us and prepare us for the sharp and decisive action by which alone the rescue of this suffering people may be achieved and the strangle-hold of the criminal one per cent be loosened from their throats.

CHINA IN A FERMENT

I—CHINA'S BLOODLESS WAR ON JAPAN

BY CARL CROW

EARLY in the present year the Chinese people declared war on Japan, and at the time this is written peace has not yet been declared. No shots have been fired and no troops moved, but breaches have been made in Japanese bank accounts and manufacturing trenches have been stormed, for this is a bloodless war against Japanese trade. The Chinese feel that through it they will be able to avenge Japanese insults to their country, and possibly by its example prevent further aggressions. When Japan presented to China demands for special concessions and leases, China was too weak in a military way to offer any resistance. Japan was menacing the borders of the country with masses of troops, and China surrendered before the threatened invasion was begun. Japan won a military victory without firing a single shot, and triumphed over the Government at Peking.

But in the meantime the powerful invisible government in China, the government of clans and guilds, issued its manifestoes of trade war against the aggressors. A circular which was widely distributed contained the injunctions:

Do not eat sea food from Japan!
Do not use Japanese articles!
Do not go to Japanese picture shows!
Do not wear garments made of Japanese cloth!

The circular had its effect at once. The Chinese people, deeply humiliated by the weakness of their country and angered by what they believed to be Japan's unjust actions, needed no urging to fall in with the programme outlined. The Japanese moving-picture shows at Shanghai were deserted. Steamers which ply between Shanghai and Yokohama began to run on ballast, for shipments were greatly decreased. Chinese money-changers, who are to be found in all parts of the Far East, refused to change Japanese money. Shopkeepers would not accept it in payment for goods. Chinese restaurant-keepers left off their bills of fare the popular dishes made of Japanese shell-fish. The signs which advertise Japanese

patent medicine in all parts of China mysteriously disappeared.

The first manifesto was followed by others, all of mysterious origin, but potent in securing the immediate obedience of the Chinese. "We write in tears of blood with bitter fingers," said one of the appeals. "It is not possible that the 400,000,000 citizens of the Republic of China, descendants of Huang Ti, should fail to prove equal to an encounter with the monkey-men [Japanese] of these small islands." Each appeal was followed by a flood of new recruits, and in a few weeks China's volunteer army numbered millions—all pledged to attack Japanese trade by the simple expedient of refusing to buy Japanese goods.

This form of warfare is not a new one to China. America felt the brunt of it a few years ago when there was a boycott on American goods following the enactment of the Asiatic Exclusion Law. At that time Chinese in the southern provinces not only refused to buy any goods from America, but actually burned American goods they had already purchased. However, the anti-American boycott was confined to a few provinces. Our Chinese immigrants come only from the provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien, and the people of northern and western China were not directly interested in our exclusion policy, nor did they take an active interest in the boycott movement. It continued for a few months and then died a natural death without accomplishing anything more serious than the embarrassment of a few American merchants. In the past the Chinese have frequently used the boycott as a means of extorting fair treatment from officials. When a viceroy or local mandarin angered the people by his oppressions and exaction of taxes, it was customary to bring him to terms by a "cessation of trade," which was a combined strike, lockout, and boycott. In the district affected shops would be closed, workmen quit work, and factories shut down. The inhabitants of the town would provide themselves with stocks of food and remain behind locked doors and

shuttered windows. This meant a stoppage of tax collections on goods in transit, and the situation soon brought the Government authorities to terms. The unpopular official would be removed, and then business would at once become normal again.

Though it is not new in principle, this warfare against the goods of Japan is more serious and more far-reaching than anything of the kind that has ever been done before. It is not confined, as was the American boycott, to any one section, but is waged with equal determination and thoroughness in all. When I was in Mukden, in the early part of the summer, I found it very difficult to get my Japanese money changed to the local currency. The money-changers, with an eye to the possible wrath of the Japanese officials (who exert a strong influence in Mukden), did not refuse to change it, but would offer only about half of the actual value of the money. Since my return to America I have received a number of letters from friends in different parts of China, in which they comment on the extent and thoroughness of the boycott. A missionary in Chengtu, the capital of Szechuan, writes:

"The boycott on Japanese goods has reached this remote province and has had immediate effect. First the people refused to buy any Japanese goods, and then their criticism of the shopkeepers led the latter to remove all Japanese products from their shelves. One might think, from a visit to the shops, that no Japanese articles were sold here. None can be seen."

From Yunnanfu a teacher in a Government school wrote me:

"Every one here is talking about the Japanese situation, and there are many reports that war has already broken out between Japan and China. Our Governor is a very level-headed man, and he has done a great deal to prevent any outbreaks. But feeling against the Japanese is running very high, and he has been powerless to prevent a very effective boycott on all Japanese goods. The merchants have led this movement and have simply withdrawn all Japanese goods from sale. Some have even destroyed their stocks."

Newspaper reports in the dailies of Shanghai and Hongkong add to the evidence that the boycott has been operating in all parts of China. It is carried on under the eyes of the Japanese authorities in Mukden, and officials of the British colony of Hongkong have

been powerless to stop it. Since its early stages there has been no fuss about it, no street-corner oratory, no impassioned appeals in the newspapers; the Chinese have simply quit buying Japanese goods, and that is all there is to it.

It is safe to assume that the industrial and provincial guilds are back of the boycott, and so long as they continue to indorse it there is little reason to believe that it will end. In no other country are there such powerful trade organizations as the Chinese guilds. They are established in every industry and have autocratic control over all who are engaged in that industry. The guild fixes prices, determines on standards of goods, decides disputes, and often guarantees large transactions. It is impossible for any Chinese to continue in business without the assent and co-operation of the guild which controls that business. They are more powerful than American labor unions, and when they act collectively, as in the case of the present boycott, their manifestoes reach every Chinese.

In the early part of the boycott movement a Chinese merchant was negotiating with a Japanese firm for the sale of a steamship, the details of the transaction being arranged through an American. The Japanese finally came to terms and the American went to the Chinese to close up the deal. But in the meantime the guild manifestoes had been issued and the Chinese dared not complete the transaction. He had, he said, received instructions from his guild that there were to be no more transactions with the Japanese, and he couldn't be bullied or cajoled into defying the guild. Being a just man, he paid the commission to the American, and shouldered the loss. He was only one of hundreds of this queer type of heroes who have been developed by the war on Japanese trade.

The boycott is a severe blow to Japan, for China is her best customer, and many Japanese industries depend entirely on exports to China. In statistics of Japanese exports the United States comes first in volume, with China a close second, but this is because the trade of Manchuria and Hongkong are placed under separate headings. Hongkong, though its population is almost wholly Chinese, is a British colony; and for well-known political reasons Japan has always insisted on regarding Manchuria as a separate administrative unit.

In the year 1913, the latest year for which

statistics are available, Japan's principal customers were :

China (including Manchuria and Hongkong).....	\$109,000,000
United States.....	92,000,000
France.....	30,000,000
Great Britain.....	16,000,000
British India.....	14,500,000
Italy.....	14,500,000

The share which went to China was more than one-third of the total exports of \$316,000,000.

A glance at a few of the items making up the exports to China will indicate the supreme importance of this trade to Japan, for in many of the items China is practically the only customer. The exports to China include :

Seaweed—to China.....	\$1,000,000
All other countries.....	11,000
Cuttlefish—to China.....	2,000,000
All other countries.....	250,000
Refined sugar—to China.....	7,500,000
All other countries.....	42,000
Cotton yarns—to China.....	35,000,000
All other countries.....	800,000

The boycott had an increasingly serious effect on the exports of Japan. Sales to China for the first six months of the year showed a decrease of \$10,000,000 from the corresponding period of the previous year. At that time there were many unfilled contracts for future delivery, and these were naturally not affected by the boycott movement. It was not until the second half of the year began that the boycott had its full effect. Figures for the first part of July show a decrease of forty per cent from the exports to China for the same period of the previous year. If the rate of decrease shown in July should continue, it would mean a loss of \$40,000,000 in Japan's export business. Nearly all of this great decrease falls on her manufactures. An analysis of the July trade returns shows that in South China the imports of Japanese goods were less than one-ninth of what they had been during the same period of the previous year. The exports to Central China decreased to about one-half, and to Manchuria almost one-third.

This decrease is all the more remarkable because of the fact that Japan had every reason to expect a large increase rather than a decrease in her China trade. German trade with China had been eliminated because of the war, and, as many German firms in China acted as distributors for British goods, the

British order against enemy trading had the effect of curtailing British trade as well. The withdrawal from the Pacific of a large number of vessels which were requisitioned by the British Admiralty, and the consequent increase in freight rates, has had the effect of adding to the cost of American goods for the Orient, and made it more difficult for the American merchants to hold their trade there. Japan could reasonably expect to fall heir to all this trade lost by other countries. Instead, she has not been able to hold her own.

An interesting feature of this trade warfare is that no one directly connected with it will admit that it exists. As soon as its operations began to be felt by the Japanese manufacturers there was the usual protest to the Government, on which the Japanese rely to a remarkable extent to find markets for their goods. The Government, having already aroused bitter foreign criticism by its demands on China, did not feel justified in provoking more criticism. The expedient was adopted of officially denying that there was any boycott. It was explained that the decreased purchasing power of the Chinese because of the European war and the depreciation in the value of silver was responsible for the decreased trade. The explanation is plausible enough, but is discounted by the fact that there was no noticeable decrease in China trade until the boycott was declared. On the other hand, the Chinese seek to forestall any possible protests by denying that there is a boycott. They declare that it is a movement to encourage home manufactures, and that as Japanese goods, like the goods of Chinese manufacture, are of a very cheap quality, this movement has quite naturally hit Japanese goods, and had little effect on imports from other countries.

Since the first inflammatory circulars were distributed the campaign has taken on this aspect and has become something more than a mere boycott against Japanese goods. It has turned into a movement for the encouragement of native manufacturing, for which there are vast possibilities. Lack of capital and lack of trained workmen hinder the development of native industries, but an even more serious hindrance is found in the tariff to which China is bound by treaty. This tariff actually operates in such a way as to allow cotton cloth made in Japan of cotton grown in China to be sold in China on payment of a duty less than that levied against similar cloth manufactured in China. The

boycott on Japanese goods has given the Chinese textile mills an opportunity to extend their home markets, and a continuation of the boycott would give an enormous impetus to the development of their industries.

It would be rash to predict how successful the movement will be or how long the present boycott will last; but there is no doubt about one result of the movement which may be set down as an accomplished fact. It has carried a long way forward that development of a sense of national consciousness which has been lacking in China in the past. Its absence has been responsible for many, if not all, of the troubles of the country. When the war with Japan was fought twenty years ago, there were few telegraphs and no

daily newspapers. The national awakening which followed was confined to only a few of the centers of the Empire. Now the country is traversed by an excellent telegraph and postal system, and many daily newspapers flourish in each of the big cities. The result is that the present awakening to the menace of Japanese aggression is not confined to the centers, but has spread to every corner of the country. It is the first national movement in which all China is united, and in its solidarity and the personal sacrifices which it demands it gives a hint of the strength and resourcefulness which China will be able to bring to the solution of her many problems when she has completely replaced provincial with national patriotism.

II—MILLIONS TO SAVE CHINA

BY WILLARD PRICE

BEGGARS and gentry, rickshaw coolies and plutocrats, are contributing to the most remarkable fund that China has ever known.

The "National Salvation Fund," it is called. Its avowed object is to "save China" from the Japanese. The intention is to spend it in building up a fighting army and navy for China, and in the development of home industries to manufacture those products now supplied by the Japanese.

The initial amount aimed at is \$50,000,000 Mexican (a little less than \$25,000,000 American currency). Already more than half of this amount has been secured. A unique condition is that the total must be raised within a year. If this is not accomplished, each subscriber is to have his contribution returned to him with four per cent interest.

Money is flooding in from all parts of China and from Chinese citizens exiled in the Chinatowns of New York, San Francisco, and Vancouver. It is coming from the tills of homesick laundrymen and the deposit vaults of wealthy Chinese merchants who are "doing well" in their smooth, Hebrew-like way in the commercial centers of South America, South Africa, Malaysia, and the Philippines. Stung by the disgrace of May 7, 1915, the "Day of National Shame," as they call it, when defenseless China was forced to accept Japan's ultimatum, the Chinese are

now raising money as no one ever dreamed they could, or would, raise money for anything.

How did it start?

It really had its beginning in the Chinese love of talk. A meek little translator in a Chinese bank found himself almost unable to work because of the loud tirades against the Japanese which were constantly being exploded within his hearing. In the bank, on the streets, in the tea-houses, in the guild halls, everywhere—talk, talk, talk. The little man was not a talker. He habitually stood by and listened. It was well for China that he did so. To the man who participates in a discussion the discussion seems sensible. To the man who impartially stands aloof the fruitfulness or folly of the discussion appears in truer perspective. This is not the first time that the absorbent silence of a little big man has laid a solid course for a nation through a chaos of small talk.

But the little book-loving translator could write as he could not speak, and presently he wrote a stirring letter to the Shanghai papers, exhorting his countrymen to show their patriotism in a more practical way than by empty vituperation. He proposed a "National Salvation Fund," to be raised by popular subscription. He did not give his name, and the letter was signed simply "A Chinese Patriot."

The newspapers immediately caught up

the idea, and one paper assumed the responsibility of calling a mass-meeting of citizens. At that meeting big men who could make speeches handled the business of the day, while little Ma Tsu-cheng, the translator, sat silent but tingling in the heart of the audience. A League to handle the fund was organized. It was agreed that this League should have the executive management of the movement, but should not receive any contributions. All money was to be sent direct to the Bank of China, where it would be placed on deposit in the name of the contributor. The fund was opened to Chinese only. The amount to be raised during the first year was fixed at \$50,000,000 (all sums in this article are in Mexican dollars), and the aims of the League were thus outlined:

First, the establishment of efficient arsenals; second, the raising of an army or the construction of a navy; third, the development of home industries.

The next day a long table was arranged in the Shanghai office of the Bank of China, the great Government bank. The officials of the League sat on one side of the table and the clerks of the bank on the other. All was ready for contributions. And the contributions came, in a flood, \$19,000 the first day, and most of it given by the poor in one and two dollar amounts.

A tattered street beggar was among the first citizens of the Republic to cash in some patriotism at the bank. He came with twenty-two coppers and four small cash—all amounting to about ten cents in our money—together with the following letter:

Sirs: I am sorry to say that I am only a beggar, but I am also a citizen of the Chung Hua Min Kuo. I will lose my freedom if my country should perish. Herewith I offer 22 coppers and 4 small cash, the result of my begging for three days. I wish that I shall never become a foreign beggar the rest of my life.

YEN SAN.

The 10th day of the 4th month.

Soon after a rickshaw coolie sidled into the great bank and timidly deposited thirty dollars, his savings of the past four years!

So they came, rich and poor, poorer, and poorest, each one giving a little of himself for his country.

The telegraph wires carried word of the forming of the fund to every corner of China. All China flamed back a response. Contributions began to stream in from every province in the Republic. Within a fortnight

\$250,000 had been deposited with the Bank of China.

"Send six more officers to help handle Salvation Fund," wired the Shanghai office of the Bank of China to the headquarters in Peking. The six came by the next train. But the rain of subscriptions thickened into a tempest, and unhandled papers lay a foot deep over the long table, with two rows of almond eyes peering bewildered over the top of the hopeless white mountains. Thus it happened that the other great bank of the country, the Bank of Communications, was called to the rescue. And the two mightiest banks of the Republic, working day and night, could scarcely cope with China's wave of practical, cash-down patriotism—patriotism which had formerly gone out in talk.

The little translator? The man who had written a letter and signed it "A Chinese Patriot"? He had long ago been forgotten. The current of public enthusiasm had swept by him and beyond him, and he went back contented enough to his translations. Ask a Chinese citizen who started the patriotic fund movement, and he will say, "Why, the Shanghai papers, of course. And wasn't it fine of them!"

Notables vied for the privilege of addressing meetings on behalf of the League, high officials seized upon the opportunity to become unpaid honorary officers, little banks looked enviously at their two big brothers who had the honor of receiving the funds, the Minister of Finance was proud to be asked to give the movement his official approval, which he immediately did. No one in China knows of Ma Tsu-cheng—no one except a few relatives and friends, the men at the bank, and one inquisitive foreign correspondent. But little Mr. Ma is satisfied. His idea is serving China.

The little snowball which he had started rolled through Tientsin, where it collected \$163,000 at a single mass-meeting; through Peking, where at one meeting \$200,000 was subscribed; then back through Shanghai, where at the greatest single meeting yet held \$660,000 was added to the Fund!

Chinese theaters held special performances and contributed the receipts. Citizens realized upon their property and sent the money to the Fund. The members of the Bureau of Military Affairs made large subscriptions. A native philanthropist in Peking gave each of several hundred college students a silver dollar to be contributed, doubled, if possible,

from the student's own pocketbook, to the Fund.

The merchants of Shanghai unanimously agreed to request an increase in the freight charges on their own boxes and bales, the increase to be passed over by the shipping companies to the Bank of China. Government officials in the police force, army, and other departments arranged to contribute one month's salary. The subscriptions from this source alone exceeded \$10,000,000.

At present, with the movement only a few months old (it began April 9, 1915), considerably more than half of the desired fifty millions has been raised. Over one hundred branches of the League have been established throughout China and in other parts of the world. At the present rate of subscription, the total amount should be easily forthcoming before the end of the year. Then a two-thirds vote of subscribers is to determine just how the money shall be applied to the objects for which it is being raised.

Shall it be devoted chiefly to the building of an army, a machine of death against Japan? Or shall it be spent mainly on the develop-

ment of home industries, making the war with Japan a war of industry and economics rather than of blood? No matter what its final use may be, the National Salvation Fund proves several very magnificent things, namely:

It proves that the Chinese can work together. There are five bars in the Chinese flag, each representing a different race. This diversity in races has been the stumbling-block of China. Now, in the face of a common shame and a common peril, the rainbow colors of the Chinese flag are blending into white. The Fund proves that the Chinese possess national loyalty—a real, hard-headed, practical loyalty that can do things. It proves, and a notable thing is this, that China, out of her poverty, can raise millions upon millions of dollars without the assistance of any foreign Power. It proves, even to the satisfaction of the bitterly humiliated Chinese themselves, that China is not yet ready for the scrap-heap of the nations. It proves that a Chinese nation of 400,000,000 patriots, not merely 400,000,000 people, is a possibility of the future.

THE BREAKDOWN OF RUSSIA'S BUREAUCRACY

BY GEORGE KENNAN

UNDER the provisions of the general law, the Russian Duma would not have convened in regular session until November 14, 1915; but the pressure of events, together with urgent requests from *zemstvos*, societies, councils, and prominent political leaders, finally induced the Czar to call an extra session of both houses of Parliament on the 1st of August. In an earlier article I gave a brief summary of the speeches made in the Duma at the opening session ("The Voice of the Russian People," The Outlook, September 22, 1915). They all breathed a spirit of devoted patriotism and an inflexible determination to carry the war to a victorious conclusion; but in the addresses of the liberal Deputies there was evidence enough to show that if the Duma continued to exist the blundering incompetence of the Government in the matter

of supplying the army with munitions would not escape the severest criticism and condemnation.

At the opening session only selected representatives of the various political parties were permitted to speak; but at later meetings, when there was general debate and when bills and resolutions relating to the conduct of the war came up for consideration, the hostile criticism of the first day developed into a general attack upon the whole bureaucratic régime. In the course of this attack the most extraordinary and surprising statements were made by the liberal speakers with regard to the Government's incompetence in dealing with the munitions problem. It appeared, for example, that nearly a year ago, at the beginning of the war, Shingaref, acting for the Constitutional Democrats, persuaded the President of the

Duma (Rodzianko) to go to General Sukhomlinof, who was then Minister of War, and urge upon him the vital necessity of organizing and mobilizing the industrial forces of the country, so as to enable it to furnish the greatest possible quantity of war supplies. "And what reply did the Minister of War make?" asked the speaker (the Constitutional Democrat Adjemof). "I trust that his answer will be taken into consideration by the Supreme Investigating Commission which is now making a study of his conduct. The nation understood the problem that confronted it, and was well aware of the fact that in modern warfare whole peoples contend with each other, and the outcome of the struggle depends, not only on military strength, but on the organization of the country and the full development and utilization of all its industrial, commercial, economic, and cultural resources. The Government did not understand this, and did not want to understand it, even when the nation tried to make it plain. And what was the result? We saw something that had never before been seen in Russian history—a nation that wanted to assume responsibility and play its part in the great struggle, and a Government that treated it either with contempt or with an indifference that was almost criminal. When the nation made an effort to do something in the way of organizing railway transportation, the production of coal, and the output of food and munitions, the Government threw almost insurmountable obstacles in its way. At the head of those who created these obstacles was the late Minister of the Interior [Maklakof], and when we raise the question of the responsibility of the late Minister of War [Sukhomlinof] for his failure to keep the army supplied, should we not also raise the question of the responsibility of that 'Imperial scamp' [the late Minister of the Interior, Maklakof] who brought the country into this deplorable condition? [Applause on the Left and cries of "Bravo!"] Imagine how different our condition would be to-day if the organization and mobilization of our industrial resources had begun a year ago, when the President of the Duma proposed it to the late Minister of War. Should we now be living through these sorrowful days? Certainly not!"

Adjemof and other speakers then showed how the Government, instead of organizing the whole country as a productive and harmoniously working unit, allowed fifty or sixty

governors of provinces to rule at their own discretion, regardless of the welfare of the nation as a whole. One governor, for example, looking selfishly after local interests, would forbid the exportation of grain, coal, or kerosene from his own province to other parts of the Empire where it was more needed, so that in one place there was a superabundance, while in another, only two or three hundred miles away, there was a famine. One governor would permit the publication of speeches made in the Duma, while another in the same general locality would forbid such publication, and compel daily newspapers to appear with two or three whole pages "whitened out." These blank spaces, of course, alarmed large parts of the population, and resulted in the circulation of wild rumors of disaster, of treachery, of dismissal of the Duma, or of submission to Germany.

The Government, the liberal speakers declared, made no effort to increase the output of war supplies. Until the Duma met it had not even thought of reducing the number of Church holidays as a means of increasing the working efficiency of Government bureaus and the output of food and ammunition factories. Russia has ninety-one Church holidays, and during a whole year of war the Government allowed business and productive activity to cease on these days, and thus lost three months of possible working time. It was not until the 20th of August, 1915, that the Council of Ministers, in compliance with a request of the Duma, ordered non-observance of Church holidays in departmental offices and Government factories engaged in the production of war supplies.

Everywhere, according to the liberal speakers, there were illustrations of bureaucratic incompetence and inefficiency. About the middle of August, 1915, a delegation of skilled workmen from the shrapnel division of the Putilof Zavod, one of the largest arms and ammunition factories in the Empire, came to the Duma to complain that they were allowed to work only eight days in a month. According to their story, they had plenty of raw material and their machines were all in order, but for some reason unknown to them they were kept idle three-fourths of the time and could not live on the wages they were able to earn.

The same speaker who made this statement—Prince Mansyref, from the Baltic Provinces—also said that to his personal knowledge a whole train-load of munitions of

war intended for the Russian armies in Poland was sent to Vladivostok, on the Pacific coast of Siberia. The evacuation of Riga, he declared, was so badly managed that half the railway cars ordered were not needed, or at least were not utilized. According to information furnished him by the railway administration, the numbers of cars ordered and the numbers loaded between the 6th and 9th of August, inclusive, were as follows:

	Cars Furnished.	Cars Loaded.
August 6.....	1,000	379
" 7.....	1,003	563
" 8.....	785	362
" 9.....	1,003	525

It thus appeared that in the evacuation of Riga the officials in charge ordered nearly two thousand more cars than they could use, and these cars, urgently needed elsewhere, were wasted.

Prince Mansyref attributed this disorder and apparent incapacity partly to the retention in the Government service of officers of German descent or with German sympathies, and partly to the custom of transferring incompetent or unfaithful officers from one post to another, instead of dismissing them from the service altogether. General Kurlaf, he said, Governor-General of the Baltic Provinces, was found to be unsatisfactory as an administrator and should have been dismissed, but he was merely removed from the Baltic Governor-Generalship and appointed chief of the Baltic fortified district, in which capacity he had almost as much power as ever.

Many other speakers referred to this transfer of incompetent officials from post to post, and attributed it to a fear on the part of the Government that the absolute dismissal of worthless or corrupt men would break down the prestige of the ruling bureaucracy. Six unsatisfactory provincial governors, it appeared, had been picked out for removal, but one of them, Sukhofkin, of Kiev, was to be appointed Senator, while two others, Shirinski-Shikhmatof, of Saratof, and Bulgakof, of Smolensk, were to be made members of the Council of the Ministry of the Interior. For the remaining three no places had yet been found. Even Maklakof, the wholly discredited Minister of the Interior, had been transferred to the Council of the Empire, where he would have a vote on bills sent to the upper house from the Duma.

The general attack of the liberal leaders on the whole bureaucratic system seemed to

be justified and supported by testimony given in the various Duma committees, particularly the Committee on Military and Naval Affairs. General A. A. Manikovski, for example, chief of the artillery division of military supplies, deprecated hostile criticism of his department, on the ground that many of its alleged defects and shortcomings were due, not to lack of energy or zeal, but to "the general system and to methods and customs inherited from the past."

Shingaref, the Constitutional Democratic chairman of the Military and Naval Committee, said, in a signed article published in the Petrograd "Reitch":

"The disorders and abuses in the supply department of the army are not wholly due to negligence or crime on the part of individuals. They are the results of the whole system which has for many years been in control of national defense. In laying the foundations, therefore, of a better organization, it is to this system that we must give most serious attention. In our official class, from the lowest to the highest, irresponsibility, strange to say, goes hand in hand with lack of self-reliance, fear of resolute action, and a disposition to escape responsibility by throwing it on others. The results are inertia and routine, combined with incredible slowness and delay. Our bureaucratic machine worked badly enough in time of peace, but in time of war it has shown itself to be wholly incapable of swift and right action" (Petrograd "Reitch," August 14, 1915).

To this general attack on the Russian bureaucratic system and to the charge that it was mainly responsible for Russia's disasters, neither the Government nor the representatives of the weakening Right made any effective reply. Markof 2d, the reactionary Black Hundred Deputy, gave notice that he would oppose the reform bills of the liberals, and declared melodramatically, "We will not give you our Russia without a fight;" but practically no defense of the bureaucratic régime was made. The Black Hundred newspapers and Deputies, however, attempted even before the Duma assembled to divert the rising tide of popular dissatisfaction by turning it from bureaucratic incompetence to "German influence" (*Nemetski zasilye*). Russian disasters, they said, were due to "German officers," "German spies," "German agents," and "German money," and they began to preach a popular crusade against everybody and everything connected in any

way with Germany—even against the loyal Germans in the Baltic Provinces and the born Russians who happened to be Stundists in religious faith. That Germans were active in Russia, as they were everywhere else, is doubtless true. They may have fomented strikes in the munitions factories, limited the output of shrapnel in the Putilov Zavod, or sent a train-load of ammunition to eastern Siberia; but they were not responsible for the breakdown of the whole bureaucratic machine; and when the reactionists, with the sympathy apparently of the Government, attempted to divert public attention from official incompetence to “German influence” and “German intrigues,” their policy had melancholy consequences.

On the 9th of June there broke out in Moscow an anti-German *pogrom*, which lasted the greater part of three days, and resulted in the burning or plundering of 692 buildings and the destruction of property valued at 39,000,000 rubles. Of the 692 places of business, however, that were burned, wrecked, or plundered, only 113 belonged to Germans, while 489 were the property of foreign neutrals or allies, while 90 were owned by Russian subjects bearing Russian names. For forty-eight hours or more the civil and military authorities allowed this *pogrom* to go on unchecked, and when the matter was brought up in the Duma, in August, the Associate Minister of the Interior, Junkovski, had no defense to make except that “the Moscow authorities had not informed the Government of the event, and he himself had heard of it only on the third day, when he made an inquiry by telephone.” It is doubtful whether a more lamentable confession of governmental weakness and incapacity has ever been heard in a national legislative assembly. A *pogrom*, encouraged by the police, lasts nearly three days in Moscow, destroys nearly 700 places of business and 40,000,000 rubles’ worth of property, and the Ministry of the Interior does not even hear of it until the third day!

Of course the liberal Deputies in the Duma made an attack on the Government in connection with this gigantic *pogrom*, and openly charged the authorities with permitting it, as a means of diverting public attention and criticism from themselves. Rodichef, one of the ablest and soberest of the Constitutional Democratic leaders, did not hesitate to say, in a speech in the Duma on the 16th of August:

“If the Government had not wanted the Moscow *pogrom*, it would not have happened. If the Latin proverb, ‘*Is fecit cui prodest*,’ is true, who profited by this *pogrom*? Who were the people that rejoiced over it and gleefully communicated to one another news so shameful to Russia? The authorities, intentionally or unintentionally, remained neutral. What were their motives in giving Germany this pleasure? I know the motive. It was to direct popular dissatisfaction toward others—to conceal themselves behind the screen of anti-German hatred. (Petrograd “Reitch,” August 17, 1915.)

But the Constitutional Democrats and Social Democrats did not confine themselves wholly during the month of August to denunciatory attacks on the bureaucratic machine and to statements of fact going to show official negligence or incompetence. They availed themselves also to the fullest extent of the right of interpellation, and asked the Government questions that were not only extremely embarrassing, but almost menacing.

Dr. H. C. Lineweber, of the Congressional Library in Washington, who returned from Russia on the steamer Kursk on the 17th of September, says that the Russian railway system has partially broken down from lack of coal for the locomotives, and that the scarcity of ammunition at the front is largely due to this.

On the 22d of August the Constitutional Democrats in the Duma made the shortage of fuel the subject of an “urgent” interpellation. Deputy Maklakof, speaking for his party, said that even in normal years Russia has to import 450,000,000 *poods* (about 8,100,000 tons) of coal, and that this year, owing to the loss of the Dombrovski fields, the shortage amounts to 580,000,000 *poods* (about 9,840,000 tons). There has been no utilization of peat, which might have been obtained and dried in large quantities if the work had been undertaken in time, and there has been no increase in the cutting of wood. What steps is the Government taking to meet this alarming shortage of fuel? “Does it foresee the impending catastrophe, and, if so, is it taking measures to avert it, or is it merely drifting with the wind and counting on the helpful intervention of a miracle-worker?”

Upon motion of Deputy Maklakof, the Duma adopted the interpellation unanimously and pronounced it “urgent.”

On the 22d of August the Social Demo-

crats proposed an interpellation concerning the unprovoked shooting by the police of fifty-seven unarmed and unresisting workmen who had struck for higher wages in a flax manufactory in Kostroma. Speakers from all the liberal parties denounced this shooting of unarmed men as a shameful massacre; declared that, taken in connection with other deplorable events of the same kind, it indicated a fixed governmental policy concerning strikes, and demanded an explanation. This interpellation also was adopted unanimously and pronounced "urgent."

On the 16th of August the Constitutional Democrats, Social Democrats, and Labor group proposed an interpellation with regard to the treatment of the Jews in the western provinces. In the course of the debate it was stated that 60,000 Jews had been expelled from the province of Grodno, 150,000 from the province of Kovno, and enough more from other provinces to make up half a million. They were treated like criminals, with shocking cruelty; they had no legal right to live in the parts of Russia into which they were being driven, and their situation was becoming absolutely desperate. The motion for "urgency" on this interpellation was defeated by the votes of anti-Jewish Deputies on the Right and in the Center.

On the 21st of August the Social Democrats and Labor group proposed an interpellation on the illegal suppression in the newspapers of speeches made by liberal Deputies in open session of the Duma. Kerenski, Social Democrat, made a fiery speech in which he accused the Government of concealment, deceit, and untruthfulness, and closed by saying:

"It is our duty to declare clearly and emphatically in this chamber that the present situation of the country can be remedied and the impending catastrophe averted only by an immediate change in the executive power [applause on the Left]; only by the immediate creation of a Government composed of representatives from all the political parties that are in touch with the living forces of the country [applause on the Left]. Freedom of organization, freedom of speech, and freedom of assembly must be guaranteed if the country is to be saved. The Government that now holds the reins of power has no right to exist."

By a small majority of thirty-two the

motion for "urgency" was voted down and the interpellation was referred to committee.

The readers of *The Outlook* may think that all this has little to do with the dismissal of the Duma, but it has everything to do with it. The Duma was dismissed because it was fast becoming a dangerous menace to autocratic power and the bureaucratic régime. Not only was it making attacks that could not be successfully met, and adopting unanimously interpellations that could not be adequately answered, but it was steadily changing in political complexion and becoming more liberal. At the beginning of the session the Government had a fair, although an uncertain, majority. In less than a month it lost that majority, and in the early part of September the liberal coalition, which was composed of Constitutional Democrats, Social Democrats, Progressives, the Labor group, and most of the Octobrists, was said to control 300 members out of 439. That clearly, from the Government's point of view, was a dangerous state of affairs; and it was rendered still more dangerous by a similar change of complexion in the Council of the Empire. At the close of the last ante-war session that body was the stronghold of conservatism, and the Government had in it an overwhelming majority. A test vote taken in August, 1915, showed that the reactionary parties of the Right had only an uncertain majority of five.

There was some reason also to believe that the liberalized Duma had been in communication, at least, with the Grand Duke Nicholas concerning domestic affairs, and that was a suggestive and disquieting circumstance.

All these considerations were probably influential in determining the Government's policy. The Council of Ministers, or a majority of it, decided to get rid of the Duma, and Premier Goremykin is said to have gone to the front for the purpose of persuading the Czar to take the necessary action. The lower house had become a thorn in the side of the bureaucracy, and the bureaucracy had power to remove it.

How the people and the army will react in this emergency we can only conjecture; but that the closing of the Duma will cause a profound national feeling of disappointment and discouragement there can be no doubt whatever.

NAPOLEON IN EXILE¹

IT is a century since Napoleon was exiled to St. Helena. That the interest in the dramatic career and extraordinary character of this man has not lapsed with the passage of time is evidenced by these three substantial volumes on what might be supposed to be the least interesting events in his life—his exile to Elba and his subsequent exile to St. Helena. It seems almost impossible for a Frenchman to understand the English character—witness Taine's interesting "History of English Literature." It is almost equally difficult for an Englishman to understand a Frenchman, though John Morley in his French biographies has measurably proved himself an exception to the rule. These volumes by Norwood Young are not wholly free from Anglican prejudice. To say what Napoleon would have done if he had remained at Elba (p. 193) is not history. Nevertheless, they are as unprejudiced, impartial, and judicial as could reasonably be expected from an Englishman. They constitute an important addition to any historical library and an essential addition to any library which pretends to any completeness in dealing with the life of Napoleon.

The volume on Elba presents the characteristics of this great-little hero of history on a stage on which they can be better perceived than on the larger European stage, because they are not obscured by the magnitude of the operations in which he was engaged. In the Lilliputian kingdom of Elba the great-nesses and the littlenesses of the man are apparent: his overweening desire for applause, which he dubbed glory; his almost craven fear when that applause was temporarily turned to execration; his recovery of his courage when the applause came back to him on the island of Elba; his real interest in his fellow-men, which, nevertheless, did not make him a democrat, because his intense selfishness prevented that interest from ever leading on to self-sacrificing services; his extraordinary imagination, prevented from being idealistic by his lack of moral principle; his exhaustless energy until self-indulgence did something to paralyze it; and the ambition to do great things as well as to appear great, which his imagination and his energy

combined to produce—are all illustrated by his brief residence as a king in exile on the island of Elba.

At St. Helena he is simply a prisoner, not a king in prison. Deprived of all hope, but retaining a hopeless ambition which remained only to torture, not to inspire, with no audience to admire and no applause to excite him, he is one of the most pathetic figures in human history. There was in Byron enough of the unquenchable spirit, unrestrained by either convention or conscience, which characterized Napoleon, to make the English poet a true as well as a graphic interpreter of one phase of the great captive's character:

"There is a fire
And motion of the soul which will not dwell
In its own narrow being, but aspire
Beyond the fitting medium of desire;
And, but once kindled, quenchless evermore,
Preys upon high adventure, nor can tire
Of aught but rest; a fever at the core,
Fatal to him who bears, to all who ever bore."

The parallel and the contrast between the militarism of the Napoleonic era and that of to-day are interesting and suggestive. The militarism of the French was enthusiastic; that of Germany is organic. That of the French was summoned to the battlefield by the flag of liberty; that of Germany, by the flag of order. That of the French destroyed the Bourbon imperialism, but substituted a Napoleonic imperialism which in time gave place to a democracy, free, but sustaining and steadying the French people; that of Germany will, we may hope, destroy the military autocracy, and substitute, when the cataclysm of war is past, an ordered democracy, quickening the splendid organization of Germany with a true enthusiasm of humanity, and eventually showing the world in a liberated and socialized state how the freedom of individualism and the ordered life of a finely articulated nation can be combined in a peaceful and efficient brotherhood. It would be interesting also to draw the contrast, which is very great, between the French and the German Emperors. But this would require, not only space which is not at our disposal here, but a knowledge of the German Emperor which is hardly possible before his career has been run, certainly not possible amid the present smoke and turmoil of the battlefield.

¹ Napoleon in Exile: Elba. (1 volume, \$5.) Napoleon in Exile: St. Helena (1815-1821). (2 volumes, \$3.50 each.) By Norwood Young. The John C. Winston Company, Philadelphia.

BY THE WAY

The delightful old city of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, will soon be transported to every part of the country in motion pictures. Gustave Frohman is staging "The Story of a Bad Boy," Thomas Bailey Aldrich's famous classic, in its "home town," Portsmouth, and the charming story and its setting will give an agreeable hour to those devotees of the movies who can appreciate the delicacy of Mr. Aldrich's humor.

At Chicago, last month, the races of the Associated Yacht and Power Boat Clubs brought out "the fastest boat of any size ever built"—the Disturber IV, a twenty-four cylinder hydroplane. She made fifteen miles in 16 minutes 30 3-5 seconds, or 55 miles an hour. The average express train would be outdistanced in a race with this astonishing boat.

The new Columbia Highway in Oregon, which follows the Columbia River from the northeast corner of the State to the sea, nearly 360 miles, gives the traveler many wonderful views in its varied course. The State spent last year \$930,000 on this road, and \$670,000 this year—an example to many other States that might develop appreciation of their scenic attractiveness by wise expenditure on road-making.

Commenting in the "Atlantic" on Charles A. Dana's dictum, "I have always felt that whatever the Divine Providence permitted to occur I was not too proud to report," Gamaliel Bradford neatly observes regarding certain newspapers that have flourished since Dana's time, "The chief error of these is apt to consist in reporting what even the Divine Providence did not permit to occur."

"Yachting" publishes a thrilling story of an old-time mutiny with a humorous aftermath by a reminiscent captain. The ship was the Frank N. Thayer and the captain Robert K. Clarke. In the Indian Ocean in 1886 two Malay sailors ran amuck on this ship, killed several men, wounded the captain severely, and finally jumped overboard after setting the Thayer on fire. The survivors succeeded in reaching St. Helena in an open boat. Captain Clarke recovered, but never made another voyage. He was recently interviewed about his fight for life, and remarked grimly that "he would like to make another deep-sea voyage if he could have the Kaiser along as a fo'c'sle hand."

An ingenious contributor to the "House Beautiful" who lives on a hill desired to have steps in terraces leading to her house, somewhat resembling the steps of the ruined Moorish castle at Cintra in Portugal. She bought discarded railway ties, still strong and firm and weathered to a delightful ash gray, for the steps, at five cents apiece. These were set in series of easy

flights; and in spaces between the ties were planted periwinkle, rock pink, field violets, snowdrops, etc. "Floral stairways" of real beauty and decided convenience were the result.

Writing on the theme that good performances of operas or plays still attract large audiences in spite of the movies, a contributor to "McClure's" says: "Ever hear of Grand Island, Nebraska? The evening I arrived in Grand Island, I thought the circus must have come just ahead of me—or perhaps it was a huge political rally. But all the excitement was caused by the single performance of a popular opera by a good company. . . . The audience had sprung up like magic from ranches that not so long ago had been sage-brush prairies."

"Alaska," says a coin merchant's advertisement, "has new gold tokens called one pinch, one-half pinch, and one-quarter pinch." Is "pinch" to be placed with "jitney" as an unsolved conundrum for the etymologists?

A humorist asks in the Paris (Missouri) "Mercury" what becomes of all the pocket-knives, and tells what became of his. "The first," he says, "was a Barlow with one blade; with it came gladness such as the world can never know again. The second was an iron-handled IXL, and dignity was added to joy. This was swapped, the trading habit contracted, and all sorts and conditions followed. None lingered. At twenty we owned a pearl-handled boudoir knife carried in a buckskin sack and lent casually to a girl we pestered; at twenty-five, a bearded pard, we were presented a beautiful knife in a burnt-bone handle. . . . The seven ages of man are marked by the pocket-knife owned, loved for a time, and lost. At forty or more, mewling again, any old sort of a knife that will clean a pipe or cap a bottle will do, but even they won't stick."

Among the curiosities of recent invention is an umbrella that has specially shaped ribs which permit it to be turned inside out without damage. Armed with this wind-proof shelter, the owner may fearlessly venture, it is claimed, into the wildest canyons of the sky-scraper region of New York or Chicago during a storm, and come out with an unwrecked umbrella.

A correspondent of the New York "Herald" says that a story which recently won a prize of \$2,500 was written more than fifty years ago. It had reposed in a battered trunk for that length of time after being rejected by "publishers in every section of the country." The author, at the age of seventy-three, was prevailed upon to submit the old manuscript once more, and this time met with distinguished success.